NEW ENGLAND ARBITRATION AND PEACE CONGRESS

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

HARTFORD AND NEW BRITAIN
CONNECTICUT

MAY 8 to 11, 1910

THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS.

HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL.D.,

DEAN OF THE YALE LAW SCHOOL.

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EDITED BY JAMES L. TRYON

Assistant Secretary of the American Peace Society
31 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass.

BOSTON
THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY
1910

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PROGRAM OF THE PROCEEDINGS.

SUNDAY, MAY 8.

10.30 A. M. Special Peace Services in the Churches of Hartford, New Britain and Vicinity.

3.30 P. M. *Mass Meeting in Foot Guard Hall.* Rev. Rockwell Harmon Potter, D. D., Presiding. Music by Colt's Orchestra. Singing by Male Chorus and Audience. Introduction of Charles J. Donahue, President of the Connecticut Federation of Labor, New Haven, Conn. Address: "Labor's Interest in World Peace," John Brown Lennon, Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, Bloomington, Ill. Address: "The Workman and the Gun Man," Rev. Charles E. Beals, Field Secretary of the American Peace Society, Chicago, Ill.

7.45. P. M. *General Peace Meeting in Parsons Theatre.* Consecration Service. Rt. Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut, Presiding. "The Twenty-Third Psalm," *Schubert*, Girls' Glee Club, Hartford High School, Ralph L. Baldwin, Director. Prayer, Rev. John Coleman Adams, D. D. "Lift Thine Eyes," from "Elijah," *Mendelssohn*, Girls' Glee Club. Address: "The Causes of War and the Bases of Peace," Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, D. D., Providence, R. I. "List the Cherubic Host," from "The Holy City," *Gaul*, Girls' Glee Club, assisted by Josephine M. Simpson and Arthur E. Howard, Jr. Address: "The Growing Power of Public Sentiment for Peace," Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D., General Secretary of the American Peace Society, Boston, Mass.

New Britain.

Stereopticon Lecture: "The Federation of the World," Hamilton Holt, Managing Editor of the *Independent*, New York City, N. Y.

MONDAY, MAY 9.

Forenoon. Registration of Delegates at Center Church House. Addresses in the Schools of Hartford and New Britain by Visiting Delegates.

2.00 P. M. *State Capitol, House of Representatives.* Congress Called to Order. Introduction of the President of the Congress by Arthur Deerin Call, President of the Connecticut Peace Society. Welcome: Acting Lieutenant-Governor, Hon. Isaac W. Brooks. Welcome: Hon. Edward L. Smith, Mayor of Hartford. President's Address: "The Present Problem — How War is to Be Abolished," Dean Henry Wade Rogers, Yale Law School. Address: "Lessons from the History of the Peace Movement," Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D., General Secretary of the American Peace Society. Appointment of Committee on Resolutions.

4.30 to 6.00 P. M. Reception to Delegates at the Center Church House.

8.00 P. M. *Center Church.* Prof. Melancthon W. Jacobus, Dean of the Hartford Theological Seminary, Presiding. Letters from President Taft, Secretary of State Knox and Others. Address: "Some Supposed Just Causes for War," Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C. Address: "A Three-Plank Peace Platform," Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D., Brookline, Mass.

TUESDAY, MAY 10.

9.30 A. M. *Center Church House.* Dean Henry Wade Rogers Presiding. Address: "How Women Must Defend the Republic," Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, Boston, Mass. Address: "The Dynamic of a Successful World Peace Movement," President John M. Thomas, Middlebury College, Vermont. Address: "The Power of Women to Promote Peace through the Schools," Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League, Boston, Mass. Address: "The New Internationalism in the Schools," Mrs. May Wright Sewall, National Council of Women. Address: "Work Among Women's Clubs," Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea, International School of Peace, Boston.

Afternoon Session in New Britain.

Centennial Peace Pilgrimage to the Home Town of Elihu Burritt.

1.30 P. M. Delegates and Invited Guests Leave Hartford in Automobiles.

2.30 P. M. Parade of Peace Army of Three Thousand School Children. National Societies and Lodges, with Bands, Banners, Floats, etc.

4.00 P. M. Exercises at Burritt's Grave. Singing by Children's Choir. International Tribute at Burritt's Monument by Representatives of the Nations. Address: Hon. James Brown Scott, Solicitor-General of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

5.30 P. M. Reception and Inspection of Burritt Relics at New Britain Institute.

6.30 P. M. Supper to the Delegates of the Congress and Invited Guests.

Evening Session in New Britain.

7.45 P. M. *Mass Meeting in Russwin Lyceum.* Hon. Charles Eliot Mitchell Presiding. Invocation, Rev. Richard F. Moore, LL. D. Music: Gounod's "Gallia," rendered by a Centennial Chorus of a Hundred Voices, Prof. E. F. Laubin, Director. Singing by Children's Choir from St. Mary's Parochial School and by the New Britain Quartet Club. Welcome: Hon. Joseph M. Halloran, Mayor of New Britain. Response: Dean Henry Wade Rogers. Address: "Elihu Burritt," Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Free Synagogue, New York City, N. Y. Address: Ex-Governor George H. Utter, Westerly, R. I. Delegates Return to Hartford.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 11.

9.30 A. M. *Center Church House.* President Flavel S. Luther, Trinity College, Presiding. Address: "The Peace of God," Rev. Professor Kilpatrick, D.D., Knox College, Toronto, Can. Address: "The International School of Peace," Edward Ginn, its Founder, Boston, Mass. Address: "What the Results of the Hague Conferences Demand of the Nations," Edwin D.

Mead, Director of the International School of Peace, Boston, Mass. Address: "Europe's Optical Illusion," Rev. Walter Walsh, Dundee, Scotland.

2.30 P. M. *Center Church.* Judge Robert F. Raymond of the Massachusetts Superior Court Presiding. Unfinished Business of the Congress. Message to Queen Alexandra. Reading of Letters from Governor Draper and Secretary of War Dickinson. Report of the Committee on Resolutions — the Platform. Greeting to Hon. Robert Treat Paine. Address: Judge Raymond.

3.30 P. M. Address: "International Law as a Factor in the Establishment of Peace," Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, Ex-Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Connecticut.

3.00 P. M. *Center Church House:* Teachers' Session. Address: Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews.

3.45 P. M. Adjournment to Center Church.

4.00 P. M. Annual Public Meeting of the American Peace Society. Address: "War Not Inevitable. Illustrations from the History of Our Country," Hon. John W. Foster, Ex-Secretary of State, Washington, D. C. Business Meeting. Annual Report of the Directors and the Treasurer. Election of Officers.

Closing Session.

6.30 P. M. *Banquet at the Allyn House*, under the Auspices of the Hartford Business Men's Association. Dean Henry Wade Rogers Presiding. Speakers: Hon. George B. Chandler, Rocky Hill, Conn.; Hon. Herbert Knox Smith, Washington, D. C.; Poem by Burges Johnson; Rev. Walter Walsh; Rev. Philip S. Moxom, D. D., Springfield, Mass.; Prof. Masujiro Honda, Japan; Message from Hon. Richard Bartholdt, Washington, D. C.; Edwin D Mead; Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood.

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APPENDIX — Historical Sketches.

INTRODUCTION.

Next to the National Congresses held in New York and Chicago and the International Congresses held in Chicago and Boston, the New England Peace and Arbitration Congress was the most important gathering of the representatives and friends of the organized peace movement that has been held in this country. It was held under the auspices of the American Peace Society and the Connecticut Peace Society. Its leading features were valuable addresses of a historical and ethical character on the growth and aims of the peace movement and a memorable celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Elihu Burritt. The proceedings of the Congress, together with the speeches made at its sessions, are here reported from day to day, but are necessarily condensed in order to bring the account within reasonable compass.

By courtesy of the Center Congregational Church and its pastor, Rev. Rockwell Harmon Potter, D. D., who from the first was deeply interested in the Congress, its principal sessions were held in Center Church House, where headquarters for the organizing committee had also been provided without charge.

Dr. Robert S. Friedman of New York decorated the auditorium with beautiful peace flags. Business men and the people of Hartford and New Britain were generous in giving financial support to the Congress and in extending hospitality to the delegates.

A variety of organizations were represented. Delegates came from churches, philanthropic associations, schools, colleges, boards of trade, labor organizations, consumers' leagues, charity organizations, municipalities, state commissions, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, men's clubs, women's clubs, art and religious, civic and literary societies, sunshine clubs, suffrage leagues, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, Spanish War veterans and lodges.

To the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, and to the Executive Secretary, Rev. Rodney W. Roundy, the success of the Congress was mainly due, but they were ably assisted by committees in Hartford and New Britain. In the latter city Rev. Herbert A. Jump lent valuable aid in organizing the Burritt celebration. The Congress was fortunate

in the choice of its President, Dean Henry Wade Rogers of the Yale University Law School, whose interest in the peace movement and happy manner as presiding officer made it possible for him to be of great service to the peace cause in bringing it to the attention of the people of New England and in executing the program of addresses.

The idea of holding a New England Congress was proposed by the General Secretary of the American Peace Society, who, from time to time, gave his counsel to the Executive Committee as needed. To Dr. Trueblood, also, the thanks of the editor are due for suggestions and oversight in the preparation of this report.

Full and accurate stenographic notes taken by J. J. Holmes of New Haven have made it possible in several cases in which manuscripts were lacking to give verbatim reports of the speeches.

LABOR MEETING.

Foot Guard Hall, Sunday Afternoon, May 8, at 3 o'clock.

REV. ROCKWELL HARMON POTTER, D. D., PRESIDING.

Sunday was observed by the churches generally as a special Peace Sunday, invitations having been sent by Mr. Roundy to the ministers of Connecticut inviting them to make the day an occasion for special sermons. The pulpits of Hartford, New Britain and neighboring cities were occupied by speakers from the Congress. The visitors brought its influence to a large number of persons who were unable to attend any of the sessions.

In the afternoon a mass meeting, for the purpose of showing the relation of organized labor to the peace movement, was held in Foot Guard Hall. Music was furnished by Colt's Orchestra. There was inspiring singing by a male chorus and by the audience.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Potter, who presided, gave a hearty welcome to the representatives of the labor organizations that were present. He then paid the following tribute to heroes of peace who have come from the ranks of labor :

BURRITT AND CREMER, HEROES OF PEACE.

It seems to me that the workingmen are not to be welcomed in their representatives to a meeting in the interests of peace as though they were guests and had no part in it. What a mockery it would be for a minister to stand up and ask the workingmen to come into the peace movement! What a mockery it would be for the lawyers or the teachers to stand up and invite the workingmen to come into it as though they had not been in it! When on Tuesday afternoon we shall go to New Britain to commemorate the one hundredth birth year of that learned blacksmith who was a pioneer in the peace movement in this country, around whose name has gathered the romance that has charmed those of us who have been concerned in the planning of this Congress, we shall come to see that his name is written high on the roll of Connecticut's heroes. We have come to doubt whether Connecticut has ever had a son who deserves a higher place on the grand list of humanity's chieftains. We have come to feel that when the roll of her

heroes is made up, and when the last statue has been placed in the Capitol building, the statue of Elihu Burritt ought to have chiefest place there for his contribution to learning made from Connecticut.

And who was he? A blacksmith; a blacksmith who did his work at the forge as a true man does his work, and who in that work forged out links of brotherhood to bind the nations into one. Nor can you tell me that he was but an exception, that he was but one appearing from the hosts of workingmen to advocate the cause of peace. If one comes into the generation that is now on the stage, and looks into England, one finds there Cremer, a stone cutter, who came to be a member of Parliament and to be the founder of the Interparliamentary Union, a leader in the cause of international peace, than whom England has contributed no abler, more effective man in all the three generations since the peace movement as such had its birth. This man represented his fellow toilers. Ministers, lawyers, teachers, jurists, publicists were proud to be associated with him and under his leadership in the modern movement for peace in England. Surely the workingman has been in it from the beginning, and surely if it ever succeeds the workingman will be in it when victory crowns its brow, for without the fellowship of all those who work, as of all those who love, no great achievement for humanity, for the kingdom of God among men, has ever been or ever will be consummated.

So, in behalf of the Executive Committee, it is not my duty to welcome any representative of any labor organization here, to welcome any laboring man here; it is rather that we greet each other on a common plane and recognize our common interests in this great cause, the cause of international peace—a word so great that it links all our hearts together and unites us in fervent prayer that it may speedily be achieved.

Dr. Potter introduced Mr. Charles J. Donahue, President of the Connecticut Federation of Labor. Mr. Donahue endorsed an opinion lately expressed by Hon. John W. Foster, that the time had come when the workingmen of one country will refuse to shoot their brother workingmen of another country at the behest of rulers. Labor organizations, he said, had learned from experience that they can win their battles better through channels of peace than by strikes or conflicts. They believe in arbitration, in the industrial as well as in the international life.

Mr. Donahue presented John Brown Lennon, Treasurer of

the American Federation of Labor. Mr. Lennon said in substance :

LABOR'S INTEREST IN WORLD PEACE.

JOHN BROWN LENNON, TREASURER OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Nineteen hundred years ago the great Apostle of peace on earth and goodwill among men appeared and gave humanity the law of love, to supplant the old law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." As we now read and comprehend the spirit of the teachings of the Carpenter of Nazareth, we are filled with astonishment that to-day we must still cry out for peace and still there is no peace, and all the Christian nations of the world turn countless treasures into preparation for war and train millions of citizens to fight and kill each other.

A meeting such as this and others that have been held is a force to which governments must pay attention. This is a peaceful way to secure peace, and therefore the more likely of early success. The world is not entirely ruled by force. Reason and right are each year becoming more and more a factor in the determination of the policies of men and nations. The value to progress in declaring for a thing cannot be computed as to its effects in securing the objects desired. All history justifies our agitation and we may live to see its full fruition. Do not overlook the fact that the Hague Tribunal is in existence, and as the opposition to war grows the people will turn toward this or some other court for settlement of international differences, and with a few verdicts rendered which are right assurance will be established that justice may be secured without resort to arms.

There are nearly five millions of men in the armies and navies of the nations of the world. What an army of non-producers to be clothed, fed and equipped by those engaged in gainful occupations! What reason that is worth while can be given for such a tremendous waste? Why should those who toil be encumbered with this awful burden? The pathway of life of the wage worker is by no means all pleasure when he has only his own burdens to bear; but add to it that all the drones and non-producers have to be cared for out of the products of his toil, then the burden becomes unbearable, and we cry out in all countries for a lessening of the load; and in the name of America's toiling millions, I appeal for an abatement of war

and military waste and expenditure. We do not need military schools in nearly every State of our Union; but we do need more teaching of reverence for God and love for our fellowmen. We have a right to expect that every teacher, preacher, priest, — yes, every lover of humanity, of democracy, of the square deal, of substantial religion,— shall become an apostle of peace and preach the gospel of peace to all the nations of the earth. Train our young men in the arts of war, and they want to practise what they have learned. Increase the army and navy, and what can we hope for except that opportunity will be made for their use?

Shall human labor not be of too great value to be forever turned to the production of implements of destruction, the first of whose victims are those whose sweat and labor turn out the ships and guns? The workers on the farm, in the mine, the mill and the shop, in all wars not only prepare the missiles of death, but must furnish their own bodies as the targets at which they are to be fired. Their labor is the prime factor in all production, consequently this unnecessary burden is placed on their backs. But, thanks to those who have the courage to protest, the workers are coming to a realization of the fact that the toilers of one nation are not the natural enemies of those of a different nation. The beautiful flowing Rhine should not and will not much longer be a dead line so that the workers on one side believe they are the mortal foes of their fellows on the other side.

If men can settle their individual differences without resort to bloodshed, why, we ask, cannot nations do so with equal facility? The organized labor movement of the world is on record without any equivocation for international peace and the settlement of differences between nations by arbitration in all cases where the existence of the nation is not at issue.

War recognizes neither the fatherhood of God nor the brotherhood of man. And the full realization of the Christian virtues of brotherly love, service and truth, can only come when the war drum and fife shall cease forever their call to arms. Will heroic action cease when wars shall come to an end? Call to your minds the heroism of the toilers, when occasion requires, on land and sea, — in the factory, in the mine, the mill and the shop; the engineer who holds the throttle to save his passengers at the sacrifice of his own life; the miner who goes into the bowels of the earth to save his fellow-workmen.

I speak for labor as I see the situation. When war fills the

people's minds, the nobler aspirations of manhood are relegated to a back seat. When peace prevails, the toilers think, they organize the great armies of peace, and gain victories for higher wages, a shorter workday, and governmental reforms conducive to human happiness and uplift. In times of peace, the standard of living is gradually elevated. The waste of war of necessity depresses the standard of living, and the workers therefore have only loss to look for in war; and in peace they have reason to hope for the emancipation of labor from the unjust burdens they now bear, many of which were brought upon them by wars in which they had no interest.

This great continent of ours was by Providence preserved from discovery until the human race in the old countries of the world had passed from the days of childhood, and the first dawn of intellectual manhood was filling the minds of men. Was this for naught, or was it to make our opportunity the greatest that has ever come to a nation? Have we not a right to ask and to expect that our nation will lead, not only in promulgating the theories of universal peace, but as well be the great example to the nations of the earth in at least ceasing to increase our fighting equipment? We need more and better schools much more than we do more Dreadnaughts. Our people need better homes and better clothing more than they do a greater army. The toilers are seeing the light on this great question, and the day is not far distant when those who make the wars will have to do their own fighting. The workers will not do it for them as soon as they have a full realization that they have at stake their lives, their happiness and their future, which wars destroy and peace promotes.

America can well afford to lead in any movement to bring about world peace and general reduction of military establishments. The people's influence should be exerted to have our nation enter upon arbitration treaties with the nations of the world. Some one must step out boldly. The United States should be the pioneer. Both God and man will bless the nation that first stands absolutely for universal peace.

Since the dawn of human history men have struggled for an existence. War, with its ideals of glory, chivalry and conquest, has sometimes moved men to great and substantial progress. If we are to be justified in our efforts to eliminate the war spirit and ideals, we must teach the people that the victories of love, of forbearance, of mutual helpfulness are more ennobling, are more enduring, than are those of war.

The men that best serve humanity in science, in art, in industry and all the avenues of a useful life, must be lifted up as the world's real heroes. Our failure to stop war is because only a few have lost the glamour of the so-called glory of killing or being killed.

The workers demand not only the cessation of war, but a stoppage of the terrible cost of our present method of maintaining an armed peace. They demand that peace be maintained by being honest with ourselves, just to our neighbors, and not by great armaments that cannot permanently maintain peace. A settlement by war is temporary; a settlement by peaceful methods is permanent and of lasting benefit to all concerned.

If men need stimulus for brave deeds similar to that which war has brought to them, they can turn their energies, their aspirations and their chivalry to the uplift of women and children forced into industrial life because of political, religious and industrial injustice, that still is so largely dominating the lives of the world's workers. Here is a field of activity that gives ample scope for the development of men to a much higher sphere of real usefulness than has ever been true of war. The workers see the light better and are not so easily hoodwinked now as in former ages, because organized labor has increased wages, reduced the hours of labor, given opportunity to read and opportunity to think; and from our thought is generally developing the determination that all men are brothers and that we will not be used to kill each other. When the full light of this new day shall come to the workers of the world war will cease, because there will be none to do the fighting. There are still sacrifices to be made, still burdens to be borne in lifting humanity to higher planes of living; and, thanks be to God and to humanity, we shall, we trust, soon throw off forever this Old Man-of-the-Sea, War, with all its bigotry, robbery, ignorance and destruction. Disarmament is not now practical, but let us work and hope for the time when no further additions will be made to the armies and navies now in existence. They would soon in effectiveness become obsolete, and universal peace would be near at hand. To continue to train men in the arts of war, to add to armies and navies and still expect to advance the cause of peace, is a travesty and a farce.

Commercialism has been given as the cause, direct or indirect, of most wars. Greed and selfishness, the outgrowth of the desire for gold, drive men and nations where neither angels nor

devils would dare to tread. If, then, we would stop war, we must help to remove the injustices of industrial life, and judge not the success of men by the amount of their wealth, but by the amount of their helpfulness to each other.

Peace among nations is largely dependent upon peace within nations. Where the great body of workers are largely restricted in the exercise and enjoyment of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, that spirit of goodwill and fellowship, that really makes the national characteristics, does not and cannot grow as it should. It becomes, therefore, the duty of men and women who love peace to work for that which leads to peace at home, in their own neighborhood, in the factories, the mills and mines, where labor is employed. Help make for these conditions where a substantial home life is possible, where recreation is within reach of all, where the pursuit of happiness will not be in vain, and we will develop a nation where, loving their own homes, the people will be loth to go out and destroy the homes of others. Where manhood and womanhood have opportunity to blossom and flower, they will have no desire to forget the paths of virtue and pursue those of destruction. When industrial conditions are such that man can secure a proper standard of living by reasonable labor, the spirit of covetousness, that underlies war, will die, and wars will be at an end. The reign of the plow shall replace the reign of the sword, and peace on earth and goodwill among men shall be the slogan of the human race. May we not expect soon to know that the war drums have ceased to beat, and that Brotherhood which Burns so beautifully depicted shall be realized :

> "For a' that, and a' that,
> It 's comin' yet, for a' that,
> That man to man, the warld o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that."

Dr. Potter then introduced Rev. Charles E. Beals as a fellow member of his own union, that of the preachers.

THE WORKMAN AND THE GUN MAN.

Rev. Charles E. Beals of Chicago, Field Secretary of the American Peace Society.

The peace and labor movements have so much in common that the peace worker, even though not a trade-unionist and perhaps not accepting the full program of unionism, looks upon organized labor as an out and out ally of pacifism.

From the first congress of the modern series of universal peace congresses, held in Paris in 1889, down to the present, invitations to be represented in the peace gatherings have been sent to labor organizations. That is, labor organizations are classed coördinately with peace societies and their coöperation is sought. Moreover, generous space on the programs of peace congresses is given to the subject of labor.

To marshal all the resolutions and declarations of organized workmen relative to gun philosophy would be to compile a voluminous document. Charles Sumner, even in his day, made an imposing array of such declarations. Mr. Gompers, at the Chicago Peace Congress, stated that over a hundred years ago one of the first labor unions petitioned Congress in behalf of international peace. The Knights of Labor likewise declared for peace. And when the American Federation of Labor was organized at Pittsburg in 1881, like its predecessor, it committed itself to the ways of peace. In 1887, in its convention at Baltimore, the American Federation of Labor adopted strong resolutions in favor of international peace and these resolutions were readopted at the labor mass meeting in Boston, held in connection with the peace congress. Equally unequivocal were the resolutions introduced by James Duncan at the Minneapolis convention of the American Federation of Labor, June 15, 1906, and adopted by that body.

The peace record of organized labor is a noble one. It was a stone-cutter, William Randal Cremer, who, in 1870, organized the Workmen's Peace Association, which is now the International Arbitration League. And he it was who conceived and founded the Interparliamentary Union, one of the greatest peacemaking forces in the world.

The modern workman may well be proud of the part his fellows have played in international crises. At the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War a group of French workmen sent an address to their German comrades and the German International Association replied in a similar kindly spirit. When the Venezuela matter was pending between the United States and Great Britain and war appeared imminent, labor organizations in the United States and Canada lifted up their voice in earnest protest against any resort to arms. When Norway and Sweden separated and disagreements became so bitter that "the purple testament of bleeding war" seemed about to be opened, the labor organizations of both countries sent telegrams to their respective rulers that they would refuse to take up

arms — and there was no war. It is a historic fact that the Socialists and the peace societies took action, independently, however, in France to avert a war which the Morocco question threatened to precipitate. Labor in one form or another is now so well organized that it has to be reckoned with, and, thank God, its mighty influence is cast on the side of international peace and human progress.

We have now hurriedly cited a few data, yet they are enough to convince us, in a general way, that the workman is a peace man. He does not believe in gun philosophy. He has nothing but contempt for the gun man. Let us now inquire specifically into a few of the reasons for his attitude. Why is he so belligerent a pacifist? Why does he so fiercely fight against fighting?

First, the workman stands for sound economics. Preëminently the labor movement is an economic one. It was born out of economic necessity and will never disappear until economic justice is attained. More sharply than any other man, the workman differentiates between the destructionists and constructionists, between the consumer type and the producer type. The workman looks upon soldiers as "mouths without hands."

The workman preaches that labor is nobler than war, that stove-pipes and drain-pipes are more glorious than cannon, that the mortar bedaubed mason or greasy engineer is more worthy of honor than the befeathered gun man strutting around in the plumage of the shorter statured chanticleer. The workman says "Amen" to the doctrine of Ruskin: "Men are enlisted for the labor that kills — the labor of war: they are counted, trained, fed, dressed and praised for that. Let them be enlisted also for the labor that feeds: let them be counted, trained, fed, dressed, praised for that. Teach the plough exercise as carefully as you do the sword exercise and let the officers of troops of life be held as much gentlemen as the officers of troops of death." This is the increasingly insistent demand of the workman, that the troops of life shall be ranked at least as high as the troops of death. The mood of an awakening world in this economic age will not much longer tolerate the great waste of the world's resources through the wasteful gun policy which now prevails. Workmen, and all other sober minded men, have learned to think in economic terms. Investments which yield nothing but loss will not long be sanctioned.

Another reason why the workman is an anti-gun man is

that he is an internationalist. This is the age of international evolution. We have already actually entered upon the first chapters of internationalism. In the regularly recurring Hague Conferences we have an official, international parliament. We have an international court, and will soon have a better one. Intergovernmental enterprises, like the Universal Postal Union, Red Cross and a dozen others, have permanent bureaus and are supported by the civilized governments of the world. Learned societies by the score have their international organizations and hold their annual international meetings now in one country and next in that. If a financial panic prevails in the United States, the Bank of England and financial institutions in Paris, Berlin and Rome are shaken to their very foundations.

In harmony with this new spirit of internationalism,— partly the cause of it and partly its result,— the welfare of labor is one throughout the world. Regardless of political and geographical boundary lines, workmen in one country are comrades of the workman in other lands. Just as capital has come to be a cosmopolitan commodity, so by the same process of economic evolution labor has become international. Not less than thirty trades are organized internationally. Visitations of fraternal labor delegates between nations are increasingly common, and old-time division lines are being erased and animosities are fading away.

Again, the workman is an anti-gun man because he believes in an honest attempt to do straight thinking. Listen to these truly wise words of James Duncan, spoken at the Boston Peace Congress in 1904 : " The weapons of the trade union movement, my friends, are the public school and Webster's dictionary. We want no guns or bayonets in our movement ; they are distasteful to us." The only authoritative and permanent leadership is the ability to think better than one's fellows.

We often used to hear the criticism, too frequently flippantly offered, that labor was poorly led, that its leaders were uneducated men, untrained in thinking, and, consequently, costly blunders were made. But consider ! Labor had to create its own leaders. The churches held aloof. The college trained men belonged to the privileged class whose interest it was to keep down labor. To whom could labor turn for leadership ? To none but itself. And so out from its own ranks it called men, and slowly and by marvelous self-discipline these leaders were evolved. I want you to run over in your mind the names

of the men who head the great armies of organized labor to-day. Honestly, now, in intellectual ability, ethical discernment and moral integrity are not these men the peers of our congressmen, for example? Tell me, would not the affairs of a nation be at least as safe in such hands as in the hands of an emperor like Louis Napoleon, whose wife, the Empress Eugenie, said of the Franco-Prussian War, "This is my war"; or of a president, like Polk, who embroiled his republic in an unrighteous war (the Mexican) in order to further his darling cause of slavery; or even of an up-to-date great newspaper king who not long ago boasted that it was his paper which precipitated our war with Spain? For myself, I feel like taking off my hat to the workmen when they can produce a score of leaders who might be mentioned. These men think. They are not foolish. They get down to hard facts. They are willing to learn even from their mistakes. They are honestly open-minded. They don't "know it all," and they know it. And the God of human destiny can use such men.

More and more work is coming to be looked upon as social service. And for this conception, which redeems and ennobles toil, we are indebted to no one so much as to the leaders of organized labor. It was the Connecticut born workman, Elihu Burritt, who called the peasantry "blind painters." Thanks to the patient campaign of education conducted by organized labor, a new and more beautiful picture of human toil and justice is being painted. But, unlike the peasantry of Burritt's generation, the present-day painters are not blind. They have their eyes wide open. Their vision is undimmed. They see with great clearness the great dominating features that must be sketched in, and year by year the picture approaches completion.

Moreover, the workman stands for democracy. Kant believed that universal peace never could be realized until the peoples were free. Given kings, hedged with divinity, and war is liable to break out any moment at the passion or caprice of a hot-headed ruler. Then it is that you get your Dumb-drudge battlefield, as pictured by Carlyle. A new and commanding voice is now heard, namely, democracy. The world has tried imperialism, feudalism, paternalism, aristocracy and plutocracy, until there is nothing left to try but democracy, and now we are trying that. Bismarck preached the "will to rule" and said: "We must give the king the greatest possible power, in order that, in case of need, he may throw all the

blood and iron into the scale." But there is scarcely a country in the world in which democracy looms larger on the morning horizon than in the land of Bismarck. To-day we are coming more and more to rank a man according to the amount of service he renders to his fellows. In place of the gun philosophy of Bismarck, we are inclining towards the philosophy of another German, Martin Luther, who taught that a man should be a Christ to his neighbor. The proudest title that the right-minded man of to-day can covet is "Servus Servorum Dei," servant of the servants of God. Men in every land are accepting Mr. Roosevelt's doctrine of "All up together," and are inscribing on their banners the words which were emblazoned on an ancient flag of Poland, "For our liberty and yours."

After this dissection of the workman, it is almost needless to add that the workman is a believer in moral forces. With Confucius and Abraham Lincoln and all truly great men, the workman holds that it is right that makes might. He dares to dissent from that pernicious toast of Stephen Decatur, "My country, right or wrong!" He holds that loyalty to country in an unjust cause is moral treason. Like Francis Lieber, the modern workman is deeply impressed with Aristotle's words, "The fellest thing in the world is armed injustice."

If our picture of the workman, as we know him to-day, is correct, then we must conclude that he is a very different breed from the gun man. By the gun man I do not necessarily mean the soldier or sailor in actual service. I mean the man, whether soldier or civilian, who can see nothing better than brute force; who does not dare trust his fellow men, but believes he must at all times be ready to smite and smash; who rates the smiting and smashing higher than justice; who cannot see that the world is constantly moving on to better and higher ideas, ideals, customs and institutions; who contends that the best way to promote goodwill is to shake clenched fists or bristling cannon in a neighbor's face; who argues that the power to kill human beings is the supreme virtue to be striven for.

How does the workingman regard the gun man? The workman's estimate of war and war philosophy, the war system and war expenditures, may perhaps be summed up in a single ejaculation of a German soldier in the Franco-Prussian War, "I wish that the accursed swindle were over!"

Consider. Let us apply the same tests to the gun man that we have applied to the workman. Is the gun man in harmony

with the best thinking of our day? Is he economically sound, democratic, a believer in education, international in sympathy and a moralist to the core?

As viewed by the workman, the most exhausting parasite on world-life to-day is the gun man. In all lands the people's money is drained away from conserving and health-promoting and business-developing enterprises for the purchase of twelve-million-dollar battleships which in ten years have to be "osler-ized." We cannot properly equip our educational institutions, or house and feed and clothe the families of those who are doing the world's work, because the money must go for guns and ships. No wonder that, to the worker who is wearing his life away in productive toil, the gun man appears the arch-faker of the twentieth century. As the workman sees things, the gun man is playing the flimflam game to-day as few others ever played it or ever can play it. And the back-broken, patient workman cries out, "I wish that the accursed swindle were over!"

Secondly, the workman cannot help feeling that the gun man is out of sympathy with democracy. Sometimes the gun man is a soldier who believes in a privileged class, with himself as the privileged. Our teachers, ministers, engineers, house-builders and miners go unpensioned, while the man-killer is pensioned. Or it may be that the gun man is some well-to-do civilian who believes, as a New England business man once said to me, that "we need soldiers to shoot down socialists, who are all the time becoming more numerous." Such a man not infrequently believes in committing all public affairs to one man who shall do all the thinking for the nation, and whose word shall be supreme and final. Is this democracy? Call it rather treason, — treason to our republican institutions and treason to the cause of human liberty. The whole genius of gunism is aristocracy and absolutism. We have had enough of these, God knows! And in this day, when the whole civilized world is toilfully climbing up out of the mire of exploitation and inequality, a man who preaches the message of absolutism, or even benevolent feudalism, is a back number in human evolution.

The workman impeaches the gun man, once more, in the name of intelligence and education, charging that he is not a thinker, but a blind smiter and destroyer. To be sure the gun man uses his wits to devise new machines and methods for human butchery. Not an invention or discovery is made but is applied to war. Nobel, the discoverer of dynamite, almost

broken-hearted because gun men used his discovery to destroy, founded the Nobel Peace Prize, to undo in a measure some of the harm he unwittingly had done. The one aspect of air navigation that overshadows all others is the effect of airships on warfare. Is n't it wicked to prostitute high thinking to the ignoble art of group murder?

We cannot wonder that the workman feels that the gun man is not an honest thinker. A man who believes in firing first and investigating afterwards can hardly be classed as an educational force. In an age of judicial procedure the gun man is an educational fossil, or, worse, he is a bluffer, a faker. And it is not the workman alone who sighs, "I wish that the accursed swindle were over!" Shotgun justice and shotgun diplomacy are out of place to-day. Open-minded, constructive, straight thinking is coming to its own, and in this day of education Mr. Powder Devilkin, the champion quack and buncoman of this generation, must make way for the teacher and the judge.

We said that internationalism was characteristic of our times and that the workman was an internationalist. Is the gun man an internationalist? Not for one moment. While learned societies, reformers, educators, workmen, and even governments, are more and more coming to act internationally, the gun man is the one anti-internationalist in all the civilized world at this moment. Scientists, philosophers, reformers, educators, churchmen and workmen meet together as coworkers, form genuine friendships with men of their own class, and think of each other as brother toilers in a common holy cause.

The one man who is out of joint with all this spirit of comradeship is the gun man. The gun man is not loyal to his own class. Instead of looking upon men of his own profession in other countries as benefactors to humankind, he shrieks that they are a menace to his own land: "More ships, more money, more guns, quick!" Now the gun man's words are either true or untrue. If true, then the soldier profession is the one profession that cannot reconcile itself to the evolution of internationalism, and is therefore an obstacle to human progress. If untrue, if the gun man is simply hatching up bogey-men to secure increased naval appropriations year after year, then it is time that the people understand this. In either case, whether the gun man is telling the truth or slandering men of his own kind, the workman looks upon the fighter as a faker, a sharper

who lives by his wits and the stupidity of the public. And he wonders how long such an "accursed swindle" can continue.

Is the gun man a moralist? Does he unfalteringly believe in the invincibility of goodness? Does he make it easier for moral goodness to come to be the supreme standard in the world? Does the gun man believe that the rights of a weak nation are as sacred as those of a sixteen-Dreadnaught power? Does he believe that justice is for the feeble and defenseless as much as for those who are able to take by brute force what they covet? In a word, does he want to help the world onward or hold it back? If the gun man cannot stand this moral test, he deserves the indignation of the workman.

In closing, I venture the prediction that civilization, in its splendid new vision of economy, democracy, education, internationalism and morality, is soon to arise and cast out the gun man, bag and baggage, philosophy, paraphernalia and appropriations. And in his place shall be installed the one who has so long been defrauded of his due, the workman, the soldier of peace. Farewell, gun man, long, too long, have you tarried: but now farewell, an eternal farewell! And welcome, workman, welcome to your well-won heritage!

CONSECRATION SERVICE.

Parson's Theatre, Sunday Evening, May 8, 1910.

RIGHT REV. CHAUNCEY B. BREWSTER, D. D., BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT, PRESIDING.

A consecration service, held in Parson's Theatre, was attended by about five hundred persons, who came, in spite of a drenching rain. Officers and committees of the Congress, the speakers and the Girls' Glee Club of the Hartford High School occupied the stage. Right Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster, Bishop of Connecticut, presided. Prayer was offered by Rev. Dr. John Coleman Adams. The Glee Club sang the Twenty-third Psalm, Mendelssohn's "Lift Thine Eyes," from "Elijah," and "List the Cherubic Host" from "The Holy City." The meeting closed with the singing of "America."

Bishop Brewster, in his introductory remarks, recognized the necessity of demonstrating that peace is consistent with patriotism, courage and righteousness. The business of the friends of peace was to enlighten the public as to this truth. He believed, however, that arbitration was steadily advancing, as

shown by the recent treaties of arbitration and by the submission of the Fisheries dispute. Bishop Brewster then introduced Rev. Dr. G. Glenn Atkins of Providence, who, after some prefatory remarks, said :

THE CAUSES OF WAR AND THE BASES OF PEACE.

Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, D. D., Providence, R. I.

Is it possible to discover any great controlling principles by which being guided we may come towards an international temper which shall be increasingly pacific? Yes, I think it is, and we shall find these principles by trying to find out what have been in the past the most fertile causes of war. If we can discover and avoid those causes in the future we shall certainly go a long way towards avoiding war itself.

One of the most constant and least justifiable causes of war has been religious intolerance. From the time of the Crusades until the Peace of Ryswick there was no great length of time when Europe was not experiencing some sort of religious war, either a war between Mohammedans and Christians or wars which had their origin in the conflict between the Latin Catholic and the Reformed churches. It would be impossible to say how much all this has cost in blood and force, and at the same time how futile and unnecessary much of it has been. I do not mean to say that there were not immense and unspeakable gains in the Christian repulsion of Mohammedan invasion, or, indeed, in the defense of the freer faith which is so dear to many of us ; but I do mean to say that much in all this was foolish, unnecessary, and wholly hostile to the cause of Christ in whose name it was ostensibly waged. It is more than likely that any such wars as these will in the future be impossible. We have come to see that the very things which we seek in the establishment and enlargement of our own most cherished beliefs are best served by tolerance. Error must be corrected by weapons more finely tempered than the weapons of blood and force. Darkness can only be conquered by light, and falsehood by truth. A noble tolerance in the field of conflicting religious beliefs is one of the great safeguards of peace. As far as we have secured it, we ought to be grateful, and we ought to be increasingly determined to secure as a safeguard its further extension.

A second great cause of war has been the ambition and personal aggrandizement of men who by force or genius have found

themselves at the heads of armies and leaders in militant states. What far-reaching strife has centered around the Tiglath-pilesers, the Alexanders, the Cæsars and the Napoleons of history! It is, of course, quite impossible to disentangle forces so complex; in almost every one of these cases there is something besides personal aggrandizement which has to be counted in, and in almost every case something of real service to civilization was secured; yet, when one admits all this, it still remains that the great military leaders have made humanity pay a fearful price for their uncurbed ambition, and that they themselves have in the end come down to tombs which are but the pathetic witnesses that no one man is big enough to readjust history, even though he rides through blood and fire in his endeavor to do it. The more such leadership is made impossible, the more individual caprice is curbed and made subservient to the common well-being, the more dictatorship becomes an idle dream, and the less frequently the loyalty of the people yields itself to capricious leaders, — the more certain we are to have enduring peace. There is every likelihood that we shall see less and less frequently the emergence of such personalities, but it is not impossible. The nations, remembering the past, will do well to yield themselves grudgingly to any one man, and to be slow in finding their sole salvation in any one personality. Democracies tend to peace. Our own democracy has had wars a plenty, but the diffusion of authority and the making of war and peace by those who really have to fight the battles and pay the cost will operate more and more constantly in favor of peace.

The next fruitful cause of war is related to the last. It has been the aggrandizement of families and dynasties. From the time of Charles V. until the French Revolution this was, perhaps, after the wars of the Reformation, the most frequent cause of the most bitter and sterile war. Nowhere, I think, have the nations been called upon so constantly to pay so great a price. Nowhere, I think, have the returns of any sort of tangible gain been so absolutely negligible. One has only to follow the long story of the wars between the Bourbons and the Spanish and the Austrian House of Hapsburg to see how much all this has cost Europe, and how bitterly fruitless it has all been. Here again is a diminishing cause of possible war. Kings are being more and more merged with their peoples, and the service of the dynasty is the service of the state. Here, as before, the increase of democracy, the widening

responsibility and the reseating of authority is constantly making for peace.

Another cause of war related in some ways to the last has been the ambition of nations to override their neighbors, to disregard the rights of national inheritance, and the sanctity of nationalities. This movement in European history began with Charles V. It has never ceased. It is operative to-day, a little less operative perhaps than a generation or so ago, but it is still a potential kind of powder magazine which any spark at any time will explode.

There have been in a general way since the time of Henry IV. two different policies, the policy of Louis XIV. typically and the policy of Henry himself. The policy of Henry generally was the development of the interior resources of France, religious tolerance, respect for religious conviction, and at the same time a respect for the integrity of neighboring nationalities. He was ready enough to fight, but he fought not for aggrandizement, but for the defense of the lesser European states about him, crushed by the Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs. One has only to look back over the centuries to see how wise such a policy really was, a policy which if adopted by the whole concert of European powers would go further than anything else in making war impossible; a policy, more than that, which has underneath it tremendous solidarities and over it commensurate compensations. When one considers, for example, that Belgium has succeeded for almost two thousand years now, although conquered and annexed again and again, in retaining a national independency established upon racial characteristics with everything — language, commerce, geography — fighting against her national existence, one sees how deeply rooted established nationalities really are, how the tides of war may override them again and again and still leave them unchanged, how hopeless it is to undertake to undo by force what has been done by long-standing social and racial influences, and how the recognition of all this will constantly save the stronger nations from attempting the blood-stained and impossible.

The policy of Louis XIV. was distinctively opposite. It was the policy of the violation of the integrity of the nations, a policy of the arbitrary extension of boundary lines, a policy of the forced unifying of diverse religious faiths and national ideas. How sterile it all was, let the years bear witness; how bloody and miserable it all was, let history bear testimony.

There is one thing absolutely certain: among the great nations of the world national and racial characteristics are so deeply rooted, so firmly grounded, that an attempt to override them is folly, and the recognition of them the highest statesmanship. And in the recognition of them there lies one of the surest grounds of noble and permanent peace.

Now all this merges still into the question of imperialism. I know that all this is, both in America and England, a live wire, and that it is difficult to discuss it without seeming to indict the policies of great parties or to question the judgment of wise and sincere men, but, nevertheless, we are compelled to recognize that imperialism, which is an undue extension of national authority, the failure to recognize the racial rights of even inferior peoples and the general assumption of certain virile races to own and administer the earth, has been since the days of Egypt and Nineveh one of the most frequent causes of war, and has been in the final readjustment of history vastly more sterile than its advocates commonly realize. Up to the present time every great composite empire has always gone to pieces, and has generally, when fallen apart, resolved itself into the racial elements of which it was composed. Here again is a mighty, impressive testimony to the difficulty of slighting characteristics and distinctions which are almost as deep as human nature. One would be foolish not to recognize that all this is by no means a simple question, but one would be foolish not to recognize, on the other hand, that the conquering elements in every imperial policy have been wisdom, service and leadership, that the dissolving elements in every imperial policy have been despotism and arbitrary force. One may still further believe that whatever is good in imperial and unifying tendencies may be well served by pacific ends, and that the nations will speed not only peace but the highest ends of national existence by putting out of their policies and their ideals a jingo imperialism which never has been and never will be enduringly rich in anything but trouble and strife.

Another cause of war has been radical trade policies. Once more I am touching live wires, but the discussion of the theme demands it. From the second period of the Hundred Years' War, when France began to interfere with the trade rights between the wool producers of England and the weavers of the Low Countries, the dislocation of trade rights, arbitrary interference with industrial policies, and violent attempts at the national monopoly of industry have been persistent and fruitful

causes of war. France has found at least twice, under Colbert and the continental policy of Napoleon, the beginning of her Blenheims and her Waterloos in just exactly such a policy as that. Behind every tariff war there lurks also always the shadow of a more sanguine and destructive strife. One thing to-day which is making for peace between the nations, above preachers and prophets and congresses, is the welding, weaving power of international commerce. If we really want peace, and incidentally the finest and most permanent kind of prosperity, we will recognize in the realms of trade that no nation lives to itself or dies to itself. Just as civilization is enlarged spiritually by the recognition of the rights of the nations, so we are enlarged materially by the recognition of the commercial rights of the nations. Artificial barriers and closed doors and commercial monopolies take the place, in our time, of intolerance and dynastic quarrels in an earlier time. It is just as sterile and just as foolish, and the wise as well as the pacific policy is a policy which will strive to build up the commercial relations of the peoples.

Another cause of war, which has from the first accompanied and intensified all the causes which I have named, has been international misunderstanding and the cultivation of fear, distrust and strained relations. The more the peoples know and understand one another, the more we get over claiming for ourselves one by one the monopoly of wisdom and virtue, and the more we cease our idle and irritating war talk, the more certain we are to find a satisfactory peace. It would be almost as impossible for two nations thoroughly understanding each other to fight as it would for two intimate friends to fight. I do not say that it is impossible in either case, but I do say that the likelihood of peace is greatly diminished, and that the likelihood of war is immensely increased by the imputation of it and the gossip of it. All that talk in which certain men, who ought to know better, have been latterly engaged about war between us and Japan is so foolish as to be criminal. They themselves are doing everything that they can do to create the very thing they fear. I myself am not so old that my reminiscences have come to possess the value of history, and yet this is the third attack of this particular mania which I have known. In my boyhood what we are saying now about Japan was being most constantly and bitterly said about our relations with England. There were men who got up and went to bed preaching in season and out of season the inherent

hostility of the two branches of the Anglo-Saxon peoples and the certainty of an Anglo-Saxon war. Following that was an attack of Germanophobia. Then Germany was entertaining secret and desperate designs against us. The Atlantic seaboard a decade before, bombarded in imagination by British guns, is now to lie at the mercy of German cruisers. To-day we have turned our faces towards the Far East and are striving to evoke war phantoms out of Japan. One is quite as foolish as the other. The last, in some ways, seems the most foolish of the three.

Whether we prepare for war or not, let us at least do it without hysteria, and if we are determined to multiply our guns, let us, if we keep their mouths open, keep our own shut. Surely there is more to be hoped for from words of friendship than from words of irritation. If we seek peace, let us speak its language and strive to make it universal in the whole intercourse of the nation's temper.

In the latter part of his address Dr. Atkins dwelt more particularly on the bases of peace. We must in the first place come to recognize the value of peace. We must realize that the wars which we glorify have their foolish and unjust side. We can accomplish in some other way than war the objects gained by them. We must realize that the higher powers are the spiritual, and that these which are pent up in the modern battleships should be released for a more godlike conflict with moral foes. They should be devoted to building cities, erecting schools and colleges and beautifying the earth. The discipline of the barracks has a greater moral equivalent in that which is required to fight ignorance, selfishness and sin. We need to recognize, too, that moral qualities are better safeguards against an enemy than the qualities of the brute. We in America have lived a hundred years without being attacked, having grown strong by force of our just dealing and fraternal spirit with other nations. We are therefore safe. Dr. Atkins was moved to protest against the rising national fear which expressed itself in increased armaments.

Rev. Dr. Samuel M. Crothers, who had been announced as one of the speakers of the evening, was unable to be present. In his place Dr. Trueblood was invited to make some remarks, and was introduced by Bishop Brewster as "the head of the workers for peace in America," to give the meeting "some words of counsel and inspiration." Dr. Trueblood said :

THE GROWING POWER OF PUBLIC SENTIMENT FOR PEACE.

BENJAMIN F. TRUEBLOOD, SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

Few of us realize the strength of the growing public feeling for peace in our civilized nations to-day,—a deepening and widening sentiment in favor of the preservation of the peace of the world and a growing determination that peace shall be preserved.

This feeling manifests itself under emergencies as it does in no other way. In December, 1895, President Cleveland issued his famous Venezuela proclamation. Almost before the paper was dry a great wave of public excitement went through the land. People stopped each other on the streets and asked, "Will it be war with Great Britain?" This was on Saturday. Sunday came, and from a hundred thousand pulpits, probably, went up the cry "We must not have war with Great Britain." When Monday came the whole tone of the press of the country was changed. The clamor for war had been transformed into a clamor for peace. The ministers of the country had voiced the feeling of all the thoughtful people of whatever class and rank in society. The cry for war ceased.

A little while ago came the trouble over the Japanese pupils in San Francisco. At once a section of the press and of the people began to talk of war with Japan. Some of them have kept it up ever since. What happened? The President, the Secretary of State, all of the leading men in public life in Washington, and practically all of the responsible statesmen of the country, said that there must be no war with Japan, that Japan had no wish to go to war with us. All the responsible men in Japan said the same thing, and the people of the two countries, aside from the elements of which I speak, have responded and supported the voice of the two governments. The clamor for war has been hushed.

Two years and more ago came that peculiar alarm in Great Britain about war with Germany. The English imagined that they saw battleships and even airships coming across the North Sea to drop shells on London, and they began to talk everywhere about "the invasion." I heard Englishmen a year ago talking about it without any qualifications. They did not even put in "Germany," but spoke of "the invasion," as if it were a predestined event. A number of men in the House of Commons, the great king of England, who lies dead to-night, the

responsible statesmen of England and of Germany, spoke out against war. The better England responded, and to-day the alarm of war with Germany is passing away.

One other incident. Some years ago French soldiers on the upper Nile got over on some territory claimed by the British. The British soldiers in that region were very mad, and if it had not been for the deliberation and patience of the officers there would have been a little war immediately. The thing was reported in Great Britain and the British were on fire at once, at least a section of them, and it looked at one time as if war were inevitable. A British fleet was sent to each end of the Suez Canal. The French also prepared their fleet for the conflict. What happened? Some business men, led by Dr. (afterwards Sir) Thomas Barclay, President of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris, got together and said that there must not be war between France and Great Britain; it would ruin both countries. The immense channel of commerce would be broken down and both nations would be bankrupted. These men enlisted the chambers of commerce on both sides of the channel in their anti-war campaign and finally secured the cordial endorsement of two hundred and seventy-five such bodies. The people, as well as the governments, learned what these business men were doing and the cries for war ceased. The business men followed up what they had done with an effort to secure a treaty of arbitration between the two countries.

At the Peace Congress held at Rouen in 1903 we had a large delegation of Englishmen. They called a meeting with their French friends at Havre the last day of the Congress, and there leading peace workers of England and France sat down together to talk about an arbitration treaty between the two countries, not knowing that already the matter of a treaty had been taken up by the two governments as a result of the action of the business men. On the 14th of October, shortly after the close of the Congress, the two governments signed and published to the world a treaty of arbitration providing that all disputes of a judicial order and questions arising out of the interpretation of treaties should be referred for a definite period to the Hague Court. This incident illustrates the growing feeling of the people, even business men, in opposition to war and in favor of the organization of permanent peace, and their power when once aroused to stay war scares.

This Anglo-French treaty of obligatory arbitration, the first of its kind in the history of the world, was signed less than

seven years ago. It was an expression of the modern spirit, the new Christian spirit that is prevailing more and more among the nations. Following the action of Great Britain and France, treaties of obligatory arbitration have been rapidly signed until to-day there are more than one hundred of them, binding together practically all of the great capitals of the world. Our own country leads with twenty-four treaties. All this has occurred in the short period of seven years. And yet people say that the peace movement is not interesting! There is probably nothing else in the history of civilization more striking than this accomplishment. There is no bit of modern history more significant than this of the new order of feeling among the nations and the practical fruits of it now appearing.

What has been done in this direction is a prophecy of much larger things to come. The second Hague Conference three years ago considered the project of a general treaty of obligatory arbitration to be signed by all the nations in common. Thirty-five of the powers represented at The Hague voted for such a treaty; five voted against the project, and four abstained from voting. The large vote cast for such a treaty represents unquestionably the general sentiment of the peoples of the civilized nations. This feeling is widening and deepening continually. Whenever there is a great opportunity to express itself, it comes to the front. It is on the basis of this growing sentiment that I rest my hopes of an early culmination of this great movement.

OPENING SESSION.

Chamber of the Connecticut House of Representatives, Monday Afternoon, May 9, 1910.

DEAN HENRY WADE ROGERS, LL.D., PRESIDING.

Mr. Arthur Deerin Call, President of the Connecticut Peace Society and Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Congress, made the opening address. He said :

Succeeding Charlemagne, the first of the world's great statesmen to conceive of a universal state, there followed a history of feudalism and of perpetual feudal warfare, and yet brewing in that darkness were the signs of a newer day. Out of that feudal anarchy of the ninth century grew our modern European States. In that darkness worked with untiring energy the great Catholic Church in the direction of peace. Indeed, through the influence of the church there was established the Truce of God, which prohibited hostilities from Thursday night until Monday morning, upon fast days and other special periods.

Down through the succeeding centuries various seers have contended that war is wrong, that peace is right, and that, as God lives, war shall wane and peace prevail, that "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

Mr. Call, having sketched the history of the peace movement in Connecticut,* added :

The New England Arbitration and Peace Congress is held in Hartford and New Britain this year because of Hartford's early contribution to the history of international peace work ; because we would pay our tribute to the memory of Elihu Burritt ; because we would do our share towards preparing the public mind for the next Hague Conference ; because we see hope for the ultimate realization of a practical substitute for the arbitrament of the sword ; because we would establish a Truce of God which shall last from Monday morning until Monday morning and from generation to generation down the ages. "At all events, it is our duty to sow seed and to leave it to God to appoint the reapers."

* For the history of Connecticut in the Peace Movement by Mrs. Call, see Appendix.

Mr. Call introduced Dean Henry Wade Rogers as the President of the Congress. Dean Rogers then presented Hon. Isaac W. Brooks, Acting Lieutenant-Governor of Connecticut, and Hon. Edward L. Smith, Mayor of Hartford, who extended to the delegates a hearty official welcome from the State and the city.

The President, having gracefully expressed the gratitude and appreciation of the delegates for their cordial welcome, delivered the following address :

THE PRESENT PROBLEM: HOW WAR IS TO BE ABOLISHED.

Dean Henry Wade Rogers, LL. D., President of the Congress.

It is written in one of the Songs of David, "Scatter thou the people that delight in war." Peace congresses have endeavored, and with some degree of success, to accomplish that result. The number of those who delight in war has been constantly diminishing ever since peace societies began their work and peace congresses assembled. The New England Arbitration and Peace Congress has been convened to aid in securing the ultimate abolition of war throughout the world. If that end is ever attained, it will be because the people of the world have been made intelligent concerning the evils of war, and have come to know that international disputes can and should be settled by reason, and not by force. The war spirit is in the blood of the race. The remedy is in counteracting this natural tendency by educating men concerning the cost of war, the horror of war, the cruelty of war, the sinfulness of war and the needlessness of war. It is through congresses like this that the public opinion of the world is being educated in favor of the maintenance of peace among all nations. Benjamin Franklin said there had never been a good war or a bad peace. We must, however, admit that there have been wars which have conferred benefit upon the world. It is true, as Hosea Biglow has said : " . . . civilization does git forrid, sometimes upon a powder cart."

The peace congresses do not deny the fact, but they want to substitute a court for a powder cart. While they concede that some few wars have been beneficial in their results, they assert that most wars have been evil. John Richard Green,

who has given the world a true history of the English people, teaches that no war in which England has ever taken part has had a permanent influence upon its national development except the long war with France, and that the effect of that war was wholly evil. What the peace congresses want is to rid the world of bombs and cannon, bayonets and swords. They want the energies of mankind directed not to the slaughter of men and the devastation of countries and the spread of misery throughout the world, but rather to the alleviation of suffering, the diffusion of knowledge and an improvement in the conditions of life for the unfortunate and the dependent. They want to save the immense waste of war and turn it into useful channels for the world's betterment. "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

The peace congresses, in pressing this matter upon the attention of mankind, are engaged in a mission as important as any that can engage the thought of man. The British Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, speaking in London on July 31, 1908, at a banquet given by the government of Great Britain to the delegates to the seventeenth Universal Peace Congress, proclaimed that the greatest of all reforms was the establishment of peace on earth. It is to aid in the furtherance of this great cause that this Congress of the New England States is now in session here in the legislative halls of one of the oldest of the Commonwealths.

If, perchance, some may say that the mission of this Congress can never be realized, let them be reminded of the maxim by which the great Moltke was accustomed to govern his conduct: "Only by striving for the impossible may we attain the possible." But is the end which this Congress seeks one which is never to be realized? The greatest of Old Testament prophets predicted more than twenty-six hundred years ago that a time would come when nations would not learn war any more. The ear is not yet weary of his silver tones proclaiming: "And he shall judge between the nations, and shall decide concerning many peoples; and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

The long centuries have passed, and the prophecy remains unfulfilled; but through all the years mankind has not forgotten the words of the Hebrew seer. We are here to-day believing that ultimately the prediction is to be fulfilled. We are here

believing that it was not a poet's dream, but a poet's vision, which Tennyson had when he "dipt into the future, far as human eye could see," and saw a time when

> "The war drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
> In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

There are intelligent men who say they sincerely desire that war shall end and that the peace of the world shall be forever maintained, who nevertheless distrust peace congresses and stand aloof from their councils. From the beginnings of time no cause, however worthy, has escaped criticism. Leaders in great movements which have run counter to the traditions, the prejudices and the public opinion of their times, have been content to be called impracticable. They have not courted popular favor. They have had the courage of their convictions. They have preferred the approval of their own consciences. They have done their own thinking.

The early Christian Fathers, the noble army of martyrs and the leaders in the anti-slavery cause were subjected to a bitterness of criticism that those who have made the advocacy of peace their special work have never known. Forty years ago Mr. Godkin wrote in *The Nation:* "It is certain that during the last fifty years, the period in which peace societies have been at work, armies have been growing steadily larger, the means of destruction have been multiplying and wars have been as frequent and as bloody as ever before; and, what is worse, the popular heart goes into war as it has never done in past ages." The peace societies have been at work now for nearly a hundred years and during the whole of the period armaments have steadily increased. But the appeal of the peace societies to the public conscience has been by no means a failure. The desire for peace, the abhorrence of war, were never before so strong. The abolition of war has not been accomplished, but the movement to that end has enlisted no longer in its support simply the scholars in the cloister. Practical statesmen in every nation and men of affairs are now at work on the problem of finding a substitute for war. The conscience of all nations has been quickened. In every part of the world to-day many men believe that sooner or later international differences will cease to be settled by force of arms. Mr. Root, when Secretary of State, said: "The open public declaration of a principle in such a way as to carry evidence that it has the support of a great body of men entitled to respect has a wonderfully compelling effect upon mankind." The open public declaration of

the principle of peace made in the peace congresses which have been held, and which have commanded the support of men of great ability and distinction, undoubtedly has had "a compelling effect" upon the thought of the world.

As this is the first peace congress which has assembled under the auspices of the New England States, it seems appropriate to mention the services of New England to the cause of peace. Those services began with the inauguration of the peace movement in the United States. Peace societies exist to-day in every part of the world. There are now some five hundred organizations of this character which are seeking to influence the public opinion of their respective countries upon this the most momentous of all the questions by which the nations are perplexed. While the honor belongs to New York of having established the first peace society in the world, a New England State founded the second and at almost the same time. The New York Society was established in August, 1815; the Massachusetts Society in December of the same year. The Rhode Island and Providence Plantations Society was organized in March, 1817. The New Hampshire branch of the Massachusetts Society dated from March, 1818. The Vermont Society followed in October, 1819. The Maine Society was not established until 1826 and the Connecticut Society not until 1831. There had, however, been established county societies in nearly every county of the Commonwealth for several years prior to the organization of the State Society in Connecticut.

The peace movement owes a heavy debt of gratitude to New England, for the men who took the lead in the early days of the movement were born on New England soil. There was Noah Worcester, upon whose initiative the Massachusetts Peace Society was organized. He published in 1814 "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War." So inveterate and bigoted were the prejudices which at that time surrounded the cause that a publisher was secured with the greatest difficulty and it had to be published anonymously. It was extensively circulated at home and abroad and was republished in Europe in several languages. In his opening words he asked, "What custom of the most barbarous nations is more repugnant to the feelings of piety, humanity and justice than that of deciding controversies between nations by the edge of the sword, by powder and ball, or the point of the bayonet?"

There was William Ellery Channing, a classmate at Harvard of Mr. Justice Story, and of whom it has been written that

"From the high, old-fashioned pulpit his face beamed down, it may be said, like the face of an angel, and his voice floated down like a voice from higher spheres." He was a leader not only in the anti-slavery cause, but in the cause of peace. It was in his study in Boston that the Massachusetts Peace Society was organized. With tongue and pen he directed his eloquence, famed in Europe as well as in America, against the evils of war.

There was William Ladd, the founder of the American Peace Society, of which he was the president for many years. Born in New Hampshire and a resident of Maine, he dedicated his life to the cause of peace. He went through New England from place to place organizing societies and everywhere inculcating hatred of war, its wrong and its iniquities. He edited the *Harbinger of Peace*, the first organ of the American Peace Society.

There was Elihu Burritt, the centennial of whose birth this Congress will commemorate. He was born and died on the soil of Connecticut. This "learned blacksmith" "left the anvil at home to teach the nations how to change their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning-hooks." The earliest international peace congresses, held in Europe, were of his inspiring.

Among other New England men who have been earnest in the advocacy of the cause of peace and who have passed from among the living, you will recall the names of Whittier, Emerson, Edward Everett Hale, Horace Bushnell, Phillips Brooks, William Lloyd Garrison and Charles Summer. We honor them and pay them reverence here to-day. The whole country honors them. Each was a benefactor of mankind.

In 1895 a New Englander, Richard Olney, became Secretary of State in Mr. Cleveland's cabinet. He negotiated a general arbitration treaty with Great Britain. The treaty he desired was one of broad scope and with few reservations. When it was submitted to the Senate for ratification forty-three Senators voted aye, twenty-six nay. The treaty failed, as it did not receive the approval of two-thirds of the Senate. But let it be remembered to the honor of New England that not a single one of her twelve Senators voted against that treaty. New England is for international arbitration and an international court.

There are those who profess to favor war as something necessary to the development of a nation's finest qualities. It is

by such means that they would cultivate the vigor, the courage and the manhood of the race. President Taft says of such men that they profess to think as they do in order that they may be thought by their fellows to be different from most men. However that may be, the majority of men refuse to believe that it is necessary to plunge a nation into hell once in so many years in order to cultivate the virtues and save the race from degenerating into weaklings and mollycoddles. If war is needed in order that man may be invigorated, invincible fortitude nourished, courage kept alive and contempt of death inculcated, then peace societies should disband and organizations be formed to encourage men periodically to meet their fellowmen and beasts of prey in mortal combat in the arena. The idea is unsound in ethics and based on false philosophy. Channing answered years ago that "there is at least equal scope for courage and magnanimity in blessing as in destroying mankind. The condition of the human race offers inexhaustible objects for enterprise and fortitude and magnanimity."

Against the physical courage of the brute force which maims and kills men, let us place the more heroic moral courage which saves and serves men. Clarkson climbing the decks of Liverpool slave-ships, Howard penetrating infected dungeons, Sisters of Charity breathing contagion in thronged hospitals afforded Whittier a loftier ideal of Christian heroism than did those who put on battle harness and exposed themselves to death by sabre clash and cannon fire. These as truly took their lives in their hands as did those who went into battle; they sought not to take other men's lives, but to save them. The noblest specimens of self-surrender seemed to Phillips Brooks not to have been on the field of battle when the dying soldier handed the cup of water to his dying foe. "They have been," he said, "in the lanes and alleys of great cities when quiet and determined men and women have bowed before the facts of human brotherhood and human need, and given the full cups of their entire lives to the parched lips of their poor brethren."

Time was when all men went armed, even as to-day all nations are armed. In a former age the sword was an indispensable part of every gentleman's dress. Wherever he went he wore it, whether he appeared on the street or at the society function. Those whose social position did not entitle them to wear the sword carried a pistol in the hip pocket.

Men were not only walking arsenals, but so great was their distrust of their neighbors that those who could lived in fortified

dwellings made as impregnable from attack as possible. Their castles they surrounded with the moat and the drawbridge, which by means of chains and weights could be pulled up against the entrance, thus cutting off all communication with the outside. Inside the moat they constructed a wall thirty feet high and ten feet thick, surmounted by a parapet with embattlements. The main gate of the castle they flanked with strong towers having embattled parapets, and they rendered it doubly secure by an iron portcullis. They lived surrounded by belligerent armaments, and were ever ready to repel an assault.

The lords of industry do not live to-day after the manner of the lords of the fee a few centuries ago. The individual no longer builds a fortified castle. He has disarmed and dismantled his fortress. But nations continue to go armed, and they live behind fortifications as did the nations of antiquity. The individual in the early stages of society redressed his own wrongs and did it after his own fashion. The custom of society permitted him to do so.

"A system of self-redress in the form of private vengeance," says Mr. Moyle in speaking of the Roman law, "preceded everywhere the establishment of a regular judication; the injured person, with his kinsman or dependents, made a foray against the wrongdoer, and swept away his cattle, and with them perhaps his wife and children, or he threatened him with supernatural penalties by fasting upon him, as in the East even at the present day; or, finally, he reduced his adversary to servitude or took his life." The primitive history of English law was in this respect exactly similar. "The fact," says Mr. Justice Stephen, "that private vengeance of the person wronged by a crime was the principal source to which men trusted for the administration of criminal justice in early times is one of the most characteristic circumstances connected with English criminal law."

The establishment of the reign of law for the individual was accomplished with difficulty. Within a century, even in England and in the United States, it has been customary for individuals to settle certain questions on the field of honor and with deadly weapons. In 1824 the Duke of Wellington wrote that it was a matter of no consequence that certain duels were to be fought. Five years later this hero of Waterloo, who was at the time Prime Minister of England, sent a challenge and fought a duel. The greatest of men in English public life — Charles James Fox, Sheridan, Pitt, Canning, Grattan, O'Connell,

Sir Robert Peel and Disraeli — sent and accepted challenges. Finally, in the reign of Victoria, and through the influence of the Prince Consort, "the first gentleman of England," the custom was ended. In our own country it was not otherwise. Burr was Vice-President when in 1804 he challenged Hamilton. And so strong was public opinion that Hamilton felt constrained to accept it. "The ability to be in future useful" made it necessary, he wrote, for him to do so in conformity to the public prejudice which then existed. Andrew Jackson was a confirmed duelist, and in 1806 killed his antagonist. In 1817, then a major-general, he challenged General Scott, which challenge Scott declined on the ground of religious scruples and patriotic duty. In 1826, Clay, who was then Secretary of State, fought a duel with Randolph, who was in the Senate. Benton, in his "Thirty Years' View," devotes eight pages to it, and concludes: "It was about the last high-toned duel that I have witnessed, and amongst the highest-toned I have ever witnessed." As late as 1842 General Shields challenged Abraham Lincoln, and it was accepted. Mr. Lincoln thought he could not avoid it. The duel was never fought, as the challenge was withdrawn. The practice continued in the South after it had been discontinued in the North. As late as 1860 Jefferson Davis, in a speech in the Senate, justified the duel as a mode of settling personal differences and vindicating personal honor.

The individual did not surrender his arms and dismantle his fortress until the State had established courts to redress his wrongs, and had provided a police power which could effectively protect him and relieve him of the duty of protecting himself. Even then he was unwilling to submit certain personal injuries, which affected him in his honor, to the settlement of the courts. For such wrongs he insisted, down to our own times, that he should be permitted to demand personal satisfaction in a personal encounter and with a deadly weapon.

The present problem is to apply to nations the rule we apply to individuals: to provide a court which can settle the disputes of nations according to principles of justice and right, and to provide a police power adequate to the enforcement of the court's decrees. To this court when established the nations must submit their differences, even as individuals must submit theirs to the local tribunals. The world must be rid of the idea that nations may resort to violence. And we may hope that, as the individual has come to abandon the idea that he

must himself, by the force of his own hand, redress certain wrongs which affect his honor, the nations likewise, in course of time, will see that what they call questions of national honor can be submitted safely and properly to an international court. In a speech made in New York on March 22, 1910, President Taft said: "Personally, I do not see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship." He continued: "I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal supposed to be composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide their decision, as well as any other question of difference arising between the nations."

In 1896, in a conference held at Washington, Carl Schurz expressed himself in like manner: "As to so-called questions of honor," he said, "it is time for modern civilization to leave behind it those mediæval notions, according to which personal honor found its best protection in the dueling pistol, and national honor could be vindicated only by slaughter and devastation."

Most men have come to recognition of the fact that war is an inefficient instrument for redressing wrong. It inflicts injury upon both parties, and not merely upon the wrong-doer. It determines the justice of no cause. It is the scourge of mankind. Nations justify great armaments as desired for defensive and not aggressive wars. The ancients made war inspired by greed for gold and women and slaves and territory and ambition. In these modern days we are advised to build great Dreadnaughts, not to make, but to prevent, war. Are great armaments necessary to safeguard the peace? "In time of peace prepare for war" is, said Sumner, a pagan maxim that belongs to the dogmas of barbarism. He insisted that great armies and great navies are the promoters of war and not the preservers of peace. Nations which possess the greatest armaments are those which are the most belligerent. We know from experience the consequences which followed when every man carried a pistol or a bowie knife. The list of homicides was longest in the community which tolerated the practice. It provoked frequently, and sometimes on slight provocation, deadly encounters. The carrying of concealed weapons on the person had on that account to be prohibited by law. It has been admirably said by the Rev. Dr. Jefferson of New York City that "the man who paces up and down my front pavement

with a gun on his shoulder may have peaceful sentiments, but he does not infuse peace into me. It does not help matters for him to shout out every few minutes, 'I will not hurt you if you behave yourself,' for I do not know his standard of good behavior, and the very sight of the gun keeps me in a state of chronic alarm."

But if it is dangerous for individual man to go about armed, may it not be for a nation? One of the reasons assigned by Frederick the Great for making war upon Maria Theresa was that he had troops all ready to act. One of the three things which, according to Bacon, prepare and dispose a people for war is a "state of soldiery professed." The argument that peace can best be maintained by having the nation always well armed was repudiated by Mr. Justice Brewer in a notable address delivered in June, 1909, before the State Bar Association of New Jersey. The recent death of the distinguished jurist deprived the Supreme Court of the United States of one of its most eminent members, took from the cause of peace in this country one of its foremost advocates, and prevented this Congress, in which he had promised to participate, from having the benefit of his presence and counsel. Mr. Justice Brewer, in the address referred to, said:

"In order to bring about the condition of peace, a minimum of army and navy is the most effective way. There never yet was a nation which built up a maximum of army and navy that did not get into war, and the pretense current in certain circles that the best way to preserve peace is to build up an enormous navy shows an ignorance of the lessons of history and the conditions of genuine and enduring peace. It might as well be said that, to stop personal quarrels and prevent shooting, the law should require every man to carry a loaded pistol in his hip-pocket."

The present problem of the nations is the abolition of public war. It is to be solved in the same way that the individual States solved the problem of the abolition of private war — by the administration of justice through judicial procedure. To establish an international court by international compact, and to secure an agreement of the nations that they will submit to that court the differences which they cannot settle by diplomacy, is a matter of the very highest importance.

The idea of a court which should sit permanently, resembling the Supreme Court of the United States, was suggested at the first Hague Conference in 1899. It was embodied in the first American proposal. An almost unanimous opinion developed against it. It was agreed that the tribunal which that Conference provided for should not sit permanently. The objection

was made that the expense of maintaining such a court in permanent session would prove irksome to all the powers and burdensome to some, especially as there would be long intervals when the court would have no business to consider. At the second Hague Conference, in 1907, the American delegation presented the project of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, which was accepted in principle. In presenting the American proposition Mr. Choate said:

"Mr. President, with all the earnestness of which we are capable, and with a solemn sense of the obligations and responsibilities resting upon us as members of the conference which in a certain sense holds in its hands the fate and fortunes of the nations, we commend the scheme which we have thus proposed to the careful consideration of our sister nations. We cherish no pride of opinion as to any point or feature that we have suggested in regard to the constitution and powers of the court. We are ready to yield any or all of them for the sake of harmony, but we do insist that this great gathering of the representatives of all nations will be false to its trust and will deserve that the seal of condemnation shall be set upon its work, if it does not strain every nerve to bring about the establishment of some such great and permanent tribunal which shall, by its supreme authority, compel the attention and deference of the nations we represent, and bring to final adjudication before it differences of an international character that shall arise between them, and whose decisions shall be appealed to as time progresses for the determination of all questions of international law."

The appeal was not in vain. The Conference, after prolonged discussion, unanimously recommended that the project for the establishment of the court be submitted to the powers and put into operation as soon as a method of appointing the judges should be agreed upon. The Conference did not come to an agreement concerning the appointment of the judges, and that, since its adjournment, has been the subject of negotiation. But nothing which has been done in the past centuries is so far-reaching a step in the direction of establishing permanent peace among nations as the adoption by the Conference of this plan for a permanent arbitral court.

The difficulty experienced at the Conference in coming to an agreement concerning the appointment of the judges has led the present Secretary of State, Mr. Knox, to propose to the interested nations that the International Prize Court should be invested with the jurisdiction and functions of the Court of Arbitral Justice. The acceptance of this proposition will give the nations which adopt it a permanent court for the settlement not only of questions which arise in time of war, but also those which arise in time of peace. The successful establishment of the court will constitute the greatest achievement in the history of nations. The Supreme Court of the United States administers justice between forty-six States of the same

nation, but the International Court will administer justice between forty-six sovereign nations. As peace is maintained between the States of the Union, so shall it be maintained between the nations of the whole world. Thus disarmament of the nations will follow. It will follow peace as an effect. It will hardly precede it as a cause. Armaments will disappear as the nations see they are no longer needed.

The question of limitation of armaments is distinct from that of disarmament. The attempt to deal with it at the first Hague Conference failed completely. It was recognized as a question of immense difficulty. It is evident that the powers of the most expert actuary would be taxed to the limit if he should undertake to calculate the equivalent reductions, naval and military, between any two of the great powers. In the call for the second Hague Conference this subject was not included in the program. The United States and Great Britain, however, pressed the matter upon the attention of the Conference. The only result was the adoption of a resolution declaring that it was especially to be desired that "the governments should undertake again the serious study of this question." But since the adjournment of the Conference the policy of the nations continues to be the increase of armaments. No one nation seems ready to set an example by limiting its own armaments in the absence of some agreement with the others. Each nation fears that by so doing it would place itself at the mercy of its rivals. A way must be found by which an international agreement on this subject can be reached. Mr. Roosevelt has suggested that the great powers form a League of Peace and agree not only to keep the peace among themselves, but to prevent, by force if necessary, its being broken by others. A League of Peace, if it should be formed, would result in a limitation of armaments. But the formation of a League of Peace and the limitation of armaments may be expected to follow, and not precede, the establishment of an international court and of an international police power competent to enforce its decrees and willing to prevent violence as between nations. Until that result is attained it will probably be as difficult to get the nations to agree to enter a League of Peace as to limit armaments.

That we may better appreciate the present problem in its relation to the United States, your attention is called to the appropriations made by the United States government. For the year ending June 30, 1910, the appropriations for the army,

fortifications and military academy amount to $111,897,515.67; for the navy, $136,935,199.05; and for pensions, $160,908,000. The total amount to be expended during the current fiscal year on account of wars and preparations for war aggregates $409,740,714.72. Compare these figures with the relatively insignificant sum of $32,007,049, which is the total amount appropriated for the use of the executive, legislative and judicial departments of the government during the same period.

The total expenditures of the government of the United States from its beginning in 1789 to 1909 has been as follows: For war, $6,699,583,209; for navy, $2,441,572,934; for pensions, $4,155,267,356. This aggregates the vast sum of $13,296,423,549 expended for war purposes, as against $4,466,068,760 expended for civil and miscellaneous purposes.

The average annual cost of the army and navy of the United States for the eight years preceding the Spanish War was $51,500,000. The average annual cost of the army and navy for the eight years since the Spanish War has been $185,400,000. The average yearly increase in the latter period as compared with the former has been $134,000,000, making a total increase in eight years of $1,072,000,000 or 360 per cent. This increase for eight years exceeds the national debt by $158,000,000. The amount of all gifts to charities, libraries, educational institutions and other public causes in 1909 in this country was $185,000,000, or $400,000 less than the average annual cost for the army and navy for the past eight years. What benefit has the nation derived from all this expenditure?

An official report to the Senate made by the Secretary of the Navy shows that the cost of coal used on our battleships during the year 1908, the year of the voyage of the fleet around the world, was $3,163,000, increased by transportation and storage charges to $5,544,000.

There will be two more Dreadnaughts laid down this year by authority of Congress, as there were last year and for the two years preceding. They will be veritable floating fortresses. It has been said, I know not with how much truth, that they will be capable of delivering a force of fire nearly twice that of the best Dreadnaught in the British navy to-day. Ten years ago the "Connecticut" was our greatest ship, and was capable of delivering 33,600 pounds of projectile in five minutes. The new Dreadnaughts will be capable of throwing 112,000 pounds in the same time. The displacement of the "Connecticut"

was 16,000 tons. The displacement of the new ships will not be less than 26,000 tons. At this rate what are we to expect ten years hence? It is said that the Secretary of the Navy intends next year asking for still larger vessels, and that he has plans tentatively drawn for ships having the gigantic displacement of 32,000 tons.

The United States is to-day expending more money for military and naval purposes and pensions, excluding interest on the war debt, than any other nation, and yet we profess to be a pacific people. We are the richest nation on earth, but that does not excuse waste and extravagance. There is not a nation on the face of the globe that contemplates war with the United States. From the foundation of the government no foreign power has ever declared war against us, and since 1812 none has committed aggressions against us. Sixty-five years ago, when nearly eighty-two per cent. of the foreign trade was carried in American bottoms, and we had no naval force in any degree comparable with those of the great European powers, no foreign nation assailed us. Is it likely that if war was not contemplated then, it will be undertaken now, when less than ten per cent. of that trade is carried by American ships?

Those who believe that we need a great navy to maintain our possession of the Philippines against the cupidity of Japan ought to explain why Japan, if she wanted those islands, did not take them from Spain, or at least indicate some wish to obtain them. In comparison with the United States, the fleet of Spain was a negative quantity, her population not one-quarter of ours, her wealth one-twenty-fifth.

In conclusion let me say, what we all know, that the great purpose which the Congress was called to promote must work its slow accomplishment step by step. Much has been accomplished, and we all understand that much remains to be attained. The advocates of peace have labored long and not grown weary.

In his oration on "The True Grandeur of Nations," Sumner said of the abolition of war, "Believe you can do it and you can do it." More people than ever before in history believe it can be done and that it will be done.

When the reign of law shall be established between nations as it has been established between individuals, who shall say? Emerson said in 1859 that no one then living would see slavery abolished. Here in this Conference of the New England States

we trust and believe that the dream of the New England poet is soon to be realized :

> "Out of the shadows of night
> The world rolls into light;
> It is daybreak everywhere."

The President then introduced Dr. Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society, who read the following paper :

LESSONS FROM THE HISTORY OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

By Benjamin F. Trueblood, LL. D.

The international peace movement has to-day reached a point of development and strength which makes it important to consider carefully the lessons which its history teaches, that we may avoid certain dangers to which its very successes and triumphs expose us at the present time.

Standing here in New England, where Worcester and Channing, Ladd and Burritt and Sumner and their co-laborers did their heroic work in the early days in organizing and developing the peace movement; here in Connecticut, where early organized peace effort grew with extraordinary rapidity and covered every county in the State by 1835; here in Hartford, where William Watson first published the *Advocate of Peace* in 1834, and where the American Peace Society pitched its tent for two years on its migration from New York to Boston; here where Horace Bushnell wrote his famous oration on "The Growth of Law," and prophesied that law would ultimately eliminate war from human society; here, not far from the place where Burritt, with his many tongues, and his Olive Leaf Mission, came near destroying the influence of the Tower of Babel,— standing here, on holy ground, where the God of Peace long ago appeared unto men, one cannot refrain from asking what these pioneers of peace would say and how they would feel if they were with us at this hour.

That Worcester and Ladd and Burritt, the great New England trio of peace pioneers, would be surprised at what has been accomplished in a century is doubtful. They would almost certainly expect to find much more done. Their wonder would be that men have been so slow in accepting and putting into practice the international principles and policies which

they advocated and believed to be perfectly reasonable and practicable.

But one may well imagine the intense interest and pleasure with which they would, nevertheless, listen to the remarkable story of the peace movement; the story of the growth of the peace societies from three in 1815 to more than five hundred at the present time, and their expansion from the narrow Atlantic seaboard to all quarters of the globe; the successful application of arbitration, of which they knew next to nothing in practice, to more than two hundred and fifty important controversies in less than a century, to some of which practically all the important nations have been parties; the organization of peace congresses into a regular yearly system, both national and international, and of special conferences like that at Lake Mohonk; the creation of an international peace bureau, which brings all the peace societies and congresses into harmonious coöperation; the organization and most effective work of the Interparliamentary Union of statesmen for the past twenty-one years; the inception and remarkable development of the Pan-American Union; the two Hague Conferences, bringing together in friendly council and planning all the nations of the world.

One can imagine William Ladd rising up and standing with uncovered head as he listened to the account of the setting up and the successful operation of the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague; the conclusion of treaties of obligatory arbitration to the number of nearly one hundred between the nations, two and two, pledging reference of important classes of disputes to the Hague Court; and the laying of the foundations of a world congress or parliament. Ladd and his co-workers would be deeply impressed with the enormous growth of public opinion everywhere in favor of a pacified and united world, and with the open and widespread demand on all sides that the system of armed suspicion and hostility, which has ruled the world from time immemorial, shall cease and the nations live henceforth as members of a common family. It is a marvelous story of effort and accomplishment which these fathers of peace would hear if they were with us to-day. There is almost nothing else like it in the whole history of human progress.

The pioneers of the peace movement were men of remarkable insight, practical wisdom and unsurpassed courage. To tackle deliberately the war system, hoary with centuries and entrenched as it was in the laws, customs and habits of thought

and feeling of men everywhere, with the expectation of overthrowing and finally destroying it, required a type of faith and heroism rarely found. What does their example and the fruit of their planting and training teach us?

They were first of all idealists, thorough-going idealists, as all men must be who move and lift the world. There are no really practical men except idealists. They saw clearly what the nations ought to be in their relations to one another, what the moral and social constitution of men and of societies of men demands as the true human state. They saw in the future an era without war; what the Germans call, in their splendid phrase, "*Die Krieglose Zeit.*" They proclaimed this ideal international condition as an obligation, the fulfillment of which, as fast as possible, was incumbent upon all men and nations. They further saw that the war system, as it had come down out of the past, was in its spirit and in its deeds and results totally at variance with this ideal, the greatest obstacle in the way of the attainment of the union of the nations and races; that it was indeed the very antithesis, the denial, the wreck of the normal, the predestined life of the world. They therefore arraigned it as both senseless and wicked, as the fruitful source of cruelty and injustice, as morally and economically ruinous. They saw that war was hell long before General Sherman was born, though they expressed it in somewhat different phraseology. Thus far their idealism carried them, both positively and negatively.

These early advocates of peace have been criticised as too sentimental; as dwelling too much on the horrors and cruelties, the savage ferocities of war. But they had to do it; otherwise their idealism would have been only half expressed. It is not certain but that a good deal of the same kind of treatment is still needed, unpleasant as it is to our modern minds, for the legend of the "righteousness" and the "glory" of war still lingers and deludes many souls.

But Dodge and Worcester and Ladd and Burritt and the rest of them were also thoroughly practical men. They did not naïvely assume that the warring world could be saved by merely proclaiming the ideal and condemning the actual condition of things. They did not go quite as far as Emerson, who said, in substance, that if you will only launch an idea it will do the rest itself. They saw that a large program of practical peace work was necessary, and this they inaugurated at once.

First of all, they started a campaign of education, by both tongue and pen, on the platform, in the pulpit and in the press, that public opinion might be won to the new views; and no more intelligent, vigorous and well-sustained campaign of reform has ever been carried on in the interest of any cause. This first compaign continued for more than forty years, till the Civil War began to throw its dark shadow over the land. Many of the foremost men of the country, then largely on the Atlantic Coast, engaged in it. Among them were Dodge, Worcester, Channing, Ladd, President Kirkland of Harvard, Whittier, Garrison, Burritt, Upham, Walker, May, Blanchard, the Tappans, Ballou, Henry C. Wright, Dr. Joseph Allen, Thomas S. Grimké, Charles Sumner, Judge Jay and many others. These men left practically nothing new to be said on the subject. Their speeches and writings — the pamphlets of Dodge, Worcester's "Friend of Peace," the essays of Ladd, the addresses of Channing, the orations of Sumner, the essay of Emerson, the Manual of Upham, the papers and books of Judge Jay — remain to us as a great and permanent literature produced by that period, without which we modern workers would be poor indeed in our outfit. By 1840 the whole subject of a congress and court of nations had been presented and clearly and exhaustively expounded by them, along substantially the lines that the Hague Conferences have followed. No movement was ever better launched than the peace movement. It sprang almost full-fledged from the brains of these men, like Minerva from the head of Jupiter.

Along with, or rather as a part of, their campaign of educating public sentiment, these peace pioneers began at once to present and urge upon the governments of the world substitutes for war. Arbitration, with its concomitants, was almost as common in their mouths as it is in ours. Not only in their public addresses and in pamphlets and periodical publications did they urge this rational method of adjusting disputes, but also in memorials to our government. As early as 1816, the year after its establishment, the Massachusetts Peace Society sent a remarkable memorial to Washington, in which it urged the Congress to institute a deliberate inquiry with a view of ascertaining how the government might exert a pacific influence on human affairs; how it might help to infuse into international law a pacific spirit; how it might aid in diminishing the frequency, or in circumscribing the calamities, of war; how it might promote the general reference of controversies to an

impartial umpire as the law of the Christian world, and might promote compacts "for the express purpose of reducing the enormous and ruinous extent of military establishments." That all sounds very recent and shows how far in advance of their time these men were. But they did not stop with these general recommendations. They urged the establishment of a world congress, or parliament, as the organ of the joint life of the nations. They advocated also the creation of a high court of nations for the judicial settlement of controversies. The first plan of the nineteenth century for an international tribunal was not worked out by the Hague Conferences, not by any Bar Association, not by the Interparliamentary Union, but by a group of New England men as early as 1840, of whom William Ladd was the chief.

The lines of work and influence thus inaugurated have been substantially followed ever since by the workers for peace, not only in this but in all countries. As far as circumstances have permitted, they have all been kept up and pushed at the same time. No one phase of the subject has, as a rule, been emphasized at the expense of others. The supreme importance of a widespread peace public opinion has been kept always in mind. Every effort possible, with the limited resources at hand, has been put forth to educate and concentrate public sentiment in behalf of the great ends sought. The advocates of peace have always, with Dr. Channing and Horace Bushnell, recognized the truth that public opinion rules the world. International justice, friendship and mutual service have always been contended for. The arbitration of all differences between nations has been urged and urged again, until this method of settlement has finally become the settled practice of the world, though not yet fully embodied in the law of nations. A permanent international court of justice as superior to and to take the place of temporary tribunals of arbitration has been urged from the beginning. A world assembly or parliament for the handling of the great interests common to the nations has been the object of a vast amount of thought and special effort. The irrationality and iniquity of great military and naval establishments, with their unceasing, increasing and ruinous burdens upon the people, have been faithfully and unequivocally pointed out. Government consideration of all these problems and action upon them has been urged, time and again, as the only possible way in which the aims of the friends of peace can be at last attained.

This, without going into further details, of which there are many most interesting ones, has been the program of the peace movement for a hundred years. It is the necessary program still. There is almost no phase of it which can yet be dropped. Public opinion — much of it at any rate — is still very benighted and reactionary about the movement. Many intelligent men, intelligent in other respects, know nothing about the cause in which we are laboring, and practically nothing about what has been accomplished through the Hague Conferences.

Though the arbitration of disputes is now the regular order, nearly all the governments persist in refusing to agree to submit (though they actually do submit) questions of "honor" and "vital interests" to the Hague Court. In spite of President Taft's most important utterance on this subject recently, they seem likely to persist in this refusal for some time yet. A general treaty of obligatory arbitration, to be signed by all the nations and including all questions of difference between governments, still remains to be concluded, though great advance toward this accomplishment was made at the second Hague Conference. The creation of a periodic congress or parliament of the nations is as yet only in its incipiency. What was accomplished in this direction at The Hague in 1907 leaves much yet to be done. Though the second Hague Conference voted its unanimous approval of the principle of an international high court of justice, the actual selection of the judges and the inauguration of the Court does not seem to be immediately in sight, notwithstanding the most important and hopeful efforts now being made by our Department of State. In the matter of arrest of the prevailing rivalry in armaments, especially in battleship building, the goal of our efforts seems still farther away. The old suspicions and jealousies and animosities lying behind these armaments die very hard, and before we can see any relief from the enormous burdens imposed upon the people by these great establishments, a great deal of thoroughgoing work in the transformation of national and racial feelings, prejudices and delusions must still be done.

It behooves the peace party of this country, indeed of all countries, to be true to all the great lines of this historic program. None of them can be neglected without crippling and retarding the whole movement. It behooves us also to be patient and steady, as well as active and energetic. There is no short cut to peace. I sympathize with those of our friends,

some of them among the noblest supporters of the cause, who, inspired by the marvelous advance already made, as well as by a deep sense of the obligations of the hour in the presence of the appalling growth of war preparations, are impatient to see a bold stroke made and the whole movement brought to a sudden end, and war banished from the earth "by one fell swoop." But nothing that has been done toward the permanent peace of the world has been accomplished by force and violence. Nothing can be done. It is too late now to resort, in the interests of peace, to the very agency which brought on war and has kept it in the world. No nation or group of nations, led by no matter whom, can force peace upon the world. Any such peace would go to pieces almost as soon as made. "Force is no remedy," as John Bright was accustomed to say. The nations, large and small alike, are vitally interested in the matter. Whatever agency or method is adopted to banish war and to bring in finally the reign of universal and permanent peace, must be one in which every nation can heartily join, and in which no one, not even the least of them, shall feel that it has been forced against its will.

These are the great lessons which the history of the peace movement teaches. We shall do well to lay them all seriously to heart, as we enter upon what we hope is to be the final stage of the greatest movement which ever engaged the thoughts and the activities of men.

Before the meeting adjourned a committee of five, with power to add to its number, was appointed to draw up resolutions. After adjournment the delegates were photographed on the steps of the State House, and were given a reception and tea in Center Church House, the people of Hartford and New Britain assisting the committee in making the strangers welcome.

During the day, which was partly taken up with the details of registration, speakers from the Congress visited the public schools of Hartford and New Britain. Practically all the grades above the third and fourth were brought together in the large assembly halls of the schools, in some cases as many as six hundred pupils being in attendance. Dr. Trueblood addressed fourteen hundred pupils in the Hartford High School. Mr. Beals, Mr. and Mrs. Mead, Mrs. Andrews and others assisted in the work among the schools. Religious and musical exercises previously arranged by a sympathetic body of teachers

accompanied the speaking. At the regular sessions of the Congress it was a familiar sight to see pupils who had been delegated from different schools taking notes on the addresses in order to report them to their classes. The indirect influence of the Congress upon the minds of the young people and in their homes thus became an important part of its value in the vicinity of Hartford.

Center Church, Monday Evening, May 10, at 8 o'clock.

PROFESSOR MELANCTHON W. JACOBUS, DEAN OF THE HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, PRESIDING.

In the evening a general meeting was held at the Center Church, at which Dr. Jacobus of the Hartford Theological Seminary presided. He gave an interesting account of a visit which he had made to The Hague, coincident with a meeting of the Court, at which one of the cases which it had decided was under consideration. The very simplicity of the proceedings had impressed him with the profoundness of the peace movement. He called attention to the moral degeneracy as well as to the loss and destruction caused by war, and said that the only plea for battleships and armies is the plea that they may not be used.

Letters were then read from President Taft, expressing belief in peace, but not in giving up the army or the navy, which, he thought, tended to preserve peace; from Ambassador Bryce, emphasizing the importance of the peace movement and deploring the present ruinous policy of building great armaments; from Secretary of State Knox, pointing to the Court of Arbitral Justice as a great step taken towards permanent peace; from ex-Vice-President Fairbanks, indicating, as is well known from his recent speeches, his sympathy with the objects of the Congress; from William J. Bryan, urging an international agreement providing for commissions of inquiry to investigate and report on the facts in every case of dispute between nations before hostilities are engaged in,— the same measure advocated by him at the meeting of the Interparliamentary Union in London in 1906; and from Samuel Gompers, stating that organized labor stands for peace, individual as well as national, carping critics to the contrary notwithstanding.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston of Washington was then introduced and gave the following address :

SOME SUPPOSED JUST CAUSES OF WAR.

Hon. Jackson H. Ralston, Washington, D. C.

Diplomatists and statesmen — we must mention both, for all diplomatists are not statesmen and all statesmen are not diplomatists — agree often, and so express themselves in treaties, that for honor and vital interests nations may wage what is dignified by the title of "solemn war"; and they must be permitted so to do, at their good pleasure, even though the doors of the Hague Tribunal of Arbitration swing freely upon their hinges and possible judges await the sound of the footsteps of the representatives of litigant states. Honor and vital interests — how sonorous these words sound! Resolve them into their elements, passion, avarice, commercial and territorial aggrandizement, and the result is verbiage so crude as to grate upon modern susceptibilities. Let us continue to use grand words to conceal ignoble thoughts!

But it is only those aggregations of human units that we call nations that may without crime and without judicial punishment slay, burn, rob and destroy. Why this logically should be the case we are at a loss to understand. Why the inherent rights of the individual to determine such questions as concern his honor or vital interests should be mercilessly abridged, and why cities and towns, and not nations, should be deprived of the full and free exercise of their most violent passions, one is unable to comprehend. Should not the power of both city and nation, or else of neither, be submitted to the ruling care of the judiciary? Is there anything peculiar about the situation of a city or of a state which should deprive them of the free exercise of their faculties? Let us examine into the question by considering first a couple of supposititious cases, either of which may find its full parallel in history, and offering a justification for war fully as well founded as the justification furnished for the wars of the past between nations.

New York, as we all know, is a great collection of human beings, greater than was boasted by all the cities of Greece, of whose wars we read with sanguinary pleasure; greater than Rome possessed after she had subdued all Italy, or even after she had conquered the ancient known world. New York is overflowing her civic boundaries into New Jersey, even as Japan

is overflowing hers into Korea or Manchuria. Let us listen to the musings of a future chieftain of Tammany Hall whose domain is co-extensive with that of Greater New York. He says :

"New York is imperial, and every New Yorker feels the glow of patriotic pride when he gazes on the vast fleets coming from all quarters of the globe to share in the profits of her commerce. The bosom of every home-loving New Yorker must swell with pride as he contemplates her magnificent structures, at once index and emblem of her greatness. Here liberty reigns, here the son of the poorest immigrant, as illustrated in my own person, may become ruler. But with all this New York is in her swaddling clothes. Imaginary lines bound her on the north, while to the west the jurisdiction of the city is limited by the North River, beyond which a New Yorker may not go without being in danger of losing his political allegiance and being absorbed by an alien community. Every patriotic instinct demands that New York should extend her boundaries so that her sons may have room in which to live and contribute to the glory of their native State."

And with all a subconscious voice whispers, "Let this come to pass and greater will be Tammany and more luscious the spoils thereof."

What more effective appeal to true patriotism could be made! And when you add the promise to the valiant son of the Bowery or the Harlem that the rich lands of the Jerseys shall be theirs, that the superabundance of their neighbors in cows and corn and strawberries shall be their abundance, can you not imagine with what fervor the embattled warriors of Yorkville and the Bronx, the Bowery and the Battery would fall upon their weaker neighbors across the North River and openly put to the sword each offending owner of a herd of cows — Jersey preferred — or a promising strawberry patch? And the cause of war, that is, the ostensible cause of war? No matter. Perhaps a bibulous New Yorker, suffering from the Sunday drought of his city and seeking consolation in Hoboken, has been arrested somewhat roughly and given a disagreeable sample of Jersey justice, against which every city-loving citizen of Manhattan raises protest and cries for war. Anything will do as long as the desire exists for dominion over rich lands across the river; as long, in other words, as the "vital interests" of New York rulers — money always being vital — demands an extension of New York's power. And now that we have the honor of New York assailed in the person of her intoxicated citizen, vital interests compel war.

And yet we live in such an unmanly, effete and degenerate age and country that should the mighty cohorts of Tammany, desisting from the milder pleasures of Coney Island, advance upon New Jersey, the United States, whose peace had been disturbed, would speedily put them to rout.

But, withal, reason would rest with the Tammany chieftain. His orators could with propriety contend that the entity that he represents was old enough, big enough, rich enough, to be allowed to fight without foreign interference. With patriotic pride could they point to examples of cities less important whose struggles, based upon identical principles, occupy many interesting and laudatory pages of history. With swelling pride could they repel the idea that Californians and Kentuckians and Vermonters, having no knowledge of or sympathy with their patriotic aspirations, should band themselves together to subdue the manly New Yorker, struggling only to advance his peculiar civilization.

Their logic—from the standpoint of the Englishman subduing the Boers, the Japanese seizing Manchuria, yea, the American pursuing the Filipino or forcing him to take false oaths of allegiance—would be irresistible. But logic does not always rule, and the New Yorker would find that, save by the permission of the Jerseyites, and with the leave of yokel representatives gathered in Congress from all parts of the Union and the consent of New York's Legislature, the rule of Tammany must remain confined to such parts of the State of New York as the State authorities shall permit.

But let us approach the problem from another point of view. Great as is New York, let us imagine that Boston rivals her in the commerce of the world; that every favoring breeze brings to Boston the largess of the whole globe; that, despite all of Gotham's efforts, Boston's growing commercial advantages directly affect New York, whose rent rolls steadily diminish. Figure to yourselves that there arises a new Cato, whose morning and evening editions print at their top, in blood-red letters, "*Delenda est Boston.*" The public mind becomes attuned to the cry. In an unlucky moment, a Bostonian in New York, whose unhappy pronunciation of the letter "A" reveals his origin, becomes involved in difficulties necessitating a visit to the Tombs. Boston peremptorily demands his release. New York scornfully refuses, and New Yorkers are insulted by Boston's wrathful rejoinder. Here, again, honor and vital interests demand blood, and under the old, logical rule the solemn arbitrament of war must determine the issue. Alas! Once more the men of other cities, heedless of the honor of the two cities and blind to all interests save their own, step forward and forbid resort to any other instrumentality than the artificial one of courts, if a legal injury may be said to exist. Alas, again,

the insult to the honor of the two cities does not constitute an injury of sufficient gravity to be considered by any national court.

But if these suggestions seem the wild vagaries of imagination, let us take more concrete examples. The drainage of the city of Chicago pours itself out into the Illinois River, and diagonally across the state the current flows to join the purer waters of the Mississippi. Soon the flood reaches St. Louis, and endangers the integrity of its water supply. Shall not every stalwart Missourian who feels his bosom beat with love for his State fly to arms, and, fortified with the products of the breweries of his great city, cross the Mississippi and relentlessly fall upon the luckless citizens of the State of Illinois? Shall the health, the comfort, the prosperity of Missouri be ruthlessly attacked by a neighboring State and the injury not be wiped out in blood? Must the Missourian stand supinely by while the population of his State becomes decimated by disease, set at work by the carelessness of people alien to his State government, and whose actions have conclusively shown their lack of courtesy and civilization? Are not such people worse even than persons whose skins are black or perhaps yellow? Is it not the high mission of St. Louis to carry civilization even to the banks of the Sangamon? Is it not part of the Missourian's share of the burthen of humanity to teach the true gospel of the golden rule to the backward denizens of Pike, Cook and Jo Davies Counties? Must not these questions be answered in the affirmative but for the fact that Missouri and Illinois recognize as a common superior an artificial entity called the United States, which forbids such war and relegates both parties to peaceful courts, where, with the assistance of bacteriologists, lawyers and judges, the issues are fought out without the pomp or circumstance of war? Are we not indeed living in a dull, uneventful age, and inflicting upon the young men of both states the canker of peace? But once again the logic of war is denied and the manly virtues remain undeveloped.

Yet another illustration. The State of Kansas contends that the waters descending from the mountains of Colorado should be allowed by Colorado's citizens to pursue their way unvexed and undiminished, to render more fertile the plains of the Sunflower State. The vital interest of the States collide. Shall the interests of bleeding Kansas be allowed to suffer because of the selfish and grasping policy of the men of Colorado? Let us invoke the soul of John Brown, and, as it

goes marching on, let the Kansans march upon the sons of the Centennial State and slaughter them until they learn how to live and let live. Alas! once more war, which, like poverty, is justified because we have always had it, and the contrary is against human nature, is suppressed, and the great sovereign States of Kansas and Colorado are forced to bow to the dictates of nine men in black robes, only one of whom, and he by chance, happens to be a citizen of either State.

I have given you two imaginary and two actual illustrations of circumstances which, by all the books, would justify war. In two cases honor dictates, and in all four vital interests demand it. The only restraining power is that the contending parties are, in each case, subject to the control of a judicial body. In vain could any of the States named declare their right to determine for themselves what was needed to satisfy their own honor or to maintain their own true interests. Always their neighbors insist upon their own superior right to preserve the peace of the continent.

But so little civilized are we internationally that books are written about the rules of war, that the right of blockade is recognized between nations, that because of brawls with which no outside party has any concern the commerce of neutrals is interfered with, the property of their citizens often exposed to the ravages of war on land, while neutral governments, unlike the onlookers at a street fight, who content themselves with making a ring about the contestants, accept limitations upon their own conduct made by the fighters themselves. Can we not learn that there is no more dignity, no more glory about a national conflict, about a national dispute, than there is in a duel between two neighbors over the proper placing of a line fence?

And if the well-being of the community demands that the quarrels of neighbors shall be determined by a legal court, if the rivalries of cities and states must find in this country their settlement in dispassionate tribunals, why should there not be, judicially at least, the United States of the World, with a tribunal capable of passing upon all international questions without restrictions?

We may here pride ourselves on believing that we are going with the swing of international feeling; that with the spread of intelligence, with a greater recognition of the equality of human beings, which in the last analysis denies the right of one man to require another to sacrifice his life and property without just cause, duly ascertained by cold and competent

tribunals, there must come a time when war will be looked upon as the crime that it is.

Let it not be said that I am unappreciative of the dignity of war and of the importance of the causes leading up to it. War has no dignity. It offers a tragedy and a farce. With the tragic element we are all too familiar. With the farce of it all we are less familiar, for it is one of those obvious things, so obvious and so accustomed that, like the movement of the earth around the sun, eons of time pass by without its realization. What can be more farcical than that human beings should be dressed up in gold lace and waving plumes to go forth to slay other human beings in waving plumes and gold lace? Why should bearskin shakos be used to add ferocity to their *ensemble?* Why should the common people, whose interest in the matter is nil, make themselves food for powder, all for the benefit of the few whose tinsel decorations blind their own eyes and those of the beholders? And why should parents who love their offspring rush into opportunities of bequeathing to them legacies of national poverty and debt as the result of a display of passion on the part of their ancestors? And when all this is the work of sentient human beings, may we not wonder over their effrontery in speaking of themselves as reasoning creatures? May we not conceive of a real philosopher looking down at our bloody antics over baubles with wondering and puzzled contempt and amusement?

For as yet we are but children and have the ways of children. Between the childish disputes — "It is," "It is n't," or "I want to swing," "No, I won't let you swing" — and the average differences between nations leading to war there is in essence no difference; nothing save the age and number of the disputants and the consequent variance in the objects which interest them. Relatively the contest is unchanged, and equally it should be adjusted without killing and without the slow sapping away of life through taxation.

But if you tell me that such doctrines as I have tried to set out are opposed to patriotism, let me say to you that patriotism is not a fixed, but a growing term. When the first Englishmen planted themselves on the borders of Massachusetts Bay, their patriotism was bounded by the fringe of woods concealing Indian enemies. Later, their patriotism meant a special sense of duty to those within the widening boundaries of the Provinces. Yet a few years, and with the birth of a new nation, all who lived within the bounds of the thirteen original States were

recognized as their brothers. Then, by leaps and bounds, it came to pass that the teeming millions of human beings from the Atlantic to the Pacific represented the solidarity of the country, and all were recognized as brothers under a common flag; and between such brothers war was a crime, and all troubles were to be determined in a peaceful manner.

But one step is left. We have to recognize the brotherhood of the human race and the infinite crime of bloody contests between members of a common family. When the day of such recognition arrives, we shall love our immediate neighbors no less and for them reserve the special offices that our finite strength limits us to giving to the relatively few, while the narrower features of the patriotism of to-day will be swallowed up in a broad consideration for the rights of humanity and all men will be brothers.

A THREE-PLANK PEACE PLATFORM.

Rev. O. P. Gifford, D. D., Brookline, Mass.

The last speaker of the evening was Rev. O. P. Gifford of Brookline, Mass., who spoke on "A Three-Plank Peace Platform." The address, which was pithy, sententious and full of good humor, is here summarized. Having laid down the truth that principles are incarnate in men, Dr. Gifford held up Abram as a man whose conduct is suggestive to the nations. Abram fashions for us some of the planks in our peace platform. Three of these, as given by the speaker, are brotherhood, disinterestedness and the tithe; about which he said:

I. Brotherhood.

Abram was rich. He had a nephew who prospered with his uncle, as a train shares the speed of the locomotive to which it is attached. Increase of flocks meant decrease of pasturage. Flocks crowded each other, shepherds began to struggle. Most wars have a property basis. We cry principle when we mean property.

Abram, El Khalil Allah, the Friend of God, befriends man. The stronger gives the weaker the first choice. "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between thee and me, for we be brethren." Lot, the weak, does not make the plea; Abram, the strong, urges the argument. Love is more than land. It is the principle that rules in the family; the weak has the right

of way. One is shocked when a primitive man smites his brother by the altar; one is distressed when the sons of Jacob sell their brother into slavery, and delighted when the slave, become a king, opens Goshen to his brothers.

Lay the pattern of the family on the web of the state. The elder brother in the parable is a disgrace to mankind; no less a disgrace when the man becomes a nation and, instead of ministering, murders.

God is no respecter of persons. "He hath made of one blood all nations." One cloud nourishes many brooks, and one sea welcomes many rivers. We have our first plank. No strife between brothers for the sake of property. The United States is the brother of all nations. A war between the United States and any nation would be civil war.

II. No gain from war when it is forced upon us.

Lot got into trouble, his plenty attracted attention, the city of his choice was attacked and looted; an escaping slave brought word to Abram, he gathered his shepherds, pursued the robbers, overtook them. "His strength was as the strength of ten, because his cause was just." It was a police raid on robbers. On his return, laden with spoil, men, women and property that had aroused the cupidity of the robbers, the King of Sodom offered to take the persons and give him the property, and Abram refused. "And Abram said to the King of Sodom, I have lifted up mine hand unto the Lord, the most high God, the possessor of heaven and earth, that I will not take from a thread even to a shoe latchet, and that I will not take anything that is thine, lest thou shouldst say, I have made Abram rich."

How many wars would be waged on this plank? Tainted money gained by injustice in trade is as rose water to civet-cat compared to plunder such as Rome enriched herself with, as Napoleon tore from Germany and Italy, as Germany wrenched from France. We despise a pickpocket, but a plundering nation is a pickpocket writ large in letters of blood. The highwayman says, "Your money or your life"; the conquering nations say, "Both." Let The Hague bind nations never to take property or money from the conquered, and the plunder-lust that incites to war would be cured. Once war meant slavery; now prisoners are cared for and returned. Let us put property on the same basis, make good all we destroy, and the charm of war is ended. Property gain is the mainspring of aggressive war. The Abram who returns all property will not attack nations for the sake of property.

III. The third plank is the tithe.

On his return from the struggle Abram met his superior, Melchizedek, and paid tithes. A self-imposed tax of one-tenth of all for righteousness and peace.

At least seventy per cent. of all our taxes go for war, either to care for cripples, pension veterans, patch up the rents made in the family income, or to pay for Annapolis and West Point, that we may have trained bloodhounds to lead in the next race for death, and to build and launch so-called Dreadnaughts, that are born of a nightmare of fear, and shiver every time a new nightmare gives birth to a new steel terror beyond the sea.

Suppose the nation should found and endow schools of righteousness and peace; educate young men to conquer the forces of nature; teach self-control and mastery of earth and air; change the ideals; pension the thinkers, not the magnified prize-fighters; put the emphasis on brain rather than brawn; confess the supremacy of righteousness and peace, pay tithes to both; cultivate the passion for right and peace.

Center Church House, Tuesday Morning, May 10.

DEAN HENRY WADE ROGERS PRESIDING.

The session of Tuesday morning was given up to a series of addresses which related mainly to the part of women in the peace movement, to the teaching of peace in the schools and to the religious foundations of peace principles.

The first speaker was Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead of Boston.

HOW WOMEN MUST DEFEND THE REPUBLIC.

LUCIA AMES MEAD OF BOSTON.

Our republic to-day is threatened with dangers, and in short-sighted, blundering fashion is creating costly defense where there is only hypothetical danger, and is neglecting the actual dangers which menace it. An admiral at the Mohonk Arbitration Conference, a year or two ago, resented the talk of squandering money on the navy, and asked, "Why does not the speaker turn his attention to the waste of more than six hundred million dollars in fires, which a proper civilization would not allow to occur? Expenditure on the navy is but a triviality in comparison with such extravagance."

In arraigning our extravagance and waste he might have gone further and reminded us that we permit ten thousand homicides every year and hold human life cheaper than any other civilized country; that by accident, largely preventable, in mines, factories, railroads, etc., we have destroyed in four recent years sixty thousand more lives than were destroyed on both sides in the whole four years of the bloody Civil War. He might have added that we permit ten times as many citizens to die of tuberculosis every year as have been killed by foreign bullets in all our three foreign wars since we became a republic. He might also have called attention to our wanton cutting down of forests and consequent approach to a timber famine. But is not the logic of these statements precisely the reverse of the admiral's? If, indeed, all these dangers exist within our midst, against which we are expending a fraction for defense compared with what we spend on army and navy, are we not

overturning the normal order of things, putting our greatest defense where it is least needed and our least defense where it is most needed?

But our admiral declares that "The navy is the greatest single force in the support of law and order in the world to-day." The admiral would of course ridicule women as defenders of the republic because he ignores our chief dangers. He would have us believe that anarchy and disruption would ensue if his class were not relied upon for our main defense. This naïve conceit should not be accepted for a moment by the clear-eyed teachers and college women and club women of America. The problem is one of statesmanship, with which the technically-trained admiral or general is least competent to deal. His problem always is how to kill present friends when we have made them enemies. The statesman's problem is how to retain friendship with those who are now friends. It is a psychological problem.

The militarist ordinarily assumes that nations have not advanced beyond the stage of wanton piracy; that without navies each would be at the other's throat. He ignores the new economic inter-relationship, evolved in the last thirty years, which would make the looting of the Bank of England by an invading German army imperil Berlin and New York banks. He ignores the fact that Switzerland with no navy and Belgium with but a small one snatch contracts from England with her own colonies; that credit is higher in Denmark and Norway than in Germany and England. He fails utterly to see that *the Prime Defense of Nations Against Aggression is Mutual Interests.* Whatever may have been true in the past, the conquest of one nation over another of equal standing to-day means, as experts have demonstrated, more loss than gain for the conqueror.

Every teacher should teach her boys and girls that, whether there be police or no police, it is their common humanity and mutual interests which restrain them from stealing or murdering each other; so it is the common humanity and mutual interests of nations, not their navies, small or large, which keep them from violent aggression on their equals ninety-nine times out of a hundred. No teacher should fail to show that, while police are needed for an indefinite time to take to court the small fraction of citizens who are not controlled by these considerations, only an international police, and not rival navies, is needed to support law and order between nations. Police use

no force except the minimum necessary to take miscreants to court. Navies never take any one to court. Police of one town never fight the police of another. Navies are built solely to fight other navies. They rarely perform the kindly, protective service which is the primary function of the police. They are rather the short-lived instruments made for international dueling.

The aforesaid admiral's claim, moreover, that "We can take no stand in diplomacy without its aid," arrogates influence to the navy that is due rather to the integrity of the nation and its commercial influence. The Monroe Doctrine was established and maintained when for sixty years or more we had an insignificant navy compared with European navies. The first Venezuelan difficulty we compelled England to settle in 1896 by arbitration. Never has the world had a better refutation than in the agreement between England and the United States in 1817 of the doctrine that "We can take no stand in diplomacy except by the aid of the navy." Moreover our peaceful settlement of the Alabama claims, in which a serious question of honor was involved, was when England's navy very much exceeded ours.

At the Hague Conference in 1907 England, with the largest navy in the world, accomplished practically nothing, while the proposals of nations which had smaller navies were carried through. The very size of England's navy — a double standard — prevented Germany from accepting any proposition for relative reduction of armaments which would leave England in such a superior position. Men of ability from countries with smaller navies were given as much consideration as those from England.

I dwell on the fallacies of this particular admiral in an address on woman's power to defend the republic, because his naïve assumption of the superlative value of the kind of defense he uses discredits any defense from non-combatants. The school teachers of America, who are preventing our republic from being ruled presently by an illiterate mob, are a far greater defense of the country than our costly, short-lived navy. The mothers and nurses of our land, who are fighting dirt, the deadly microbe, the mosquito, the fly and the rat, are literally doing a thousand times as much as our army and navy combined to save American lives and property from otherwise certain destruction.

In this month in which we do reverence to the dead heroes who fought to preserve the nation, I gladly lay my wreaths on

their world-honored urns. But let the public never forget that civil war and international war are in two different categories, and that the time has passed when international war should be endured in a civilized world.

The average woman is hostile to war, but is hardly more hostile to the war system than the average man. If she would defend the republic from the growing spirit of militarism she must learn how to undermine the system, for the system involves war preparations in the name of peace.

The growth of increased reliance on force has paradoxically been very marked in our country since the large provision for substitutes for war began to be made in 1899. This movement not only shows infidelity to our pledges and professions, but it is coincident with the increased reciprocity existing between the working men of different lands. It is a result of the impetus given to militarism by the Spanish War, of the ambition of the Navy League and certain vested interests, and in the encouragement given by certain admirable men who imagine that a display of armor plate inspires respect from foreign powers.

First of all, women must teach patriotism in a distinctly different fashion. To-day the common idea of that virtue is that it has something to do with a gun. I read, "The bill to promote rifle practice and a patriotic spirit among the citizens and youth of the United States has passed the Senate."

The women of the republic, whether teachers or mothers, have no more important service to render than to teach American boys and girls that patriotism has no more to do with a gun than with a broom; that Colonel Waring with his brooms, faithfully cleansing New York as it has never been cleansed before, and thereby lowering the death rate by fifteen thousand lives, was doing a greater service than if he had fifteen thousand corpses of Mexicans on the battlefield. The women's patriotic societies can do no greater service than to teach that patriotism is not to be tested by a show of bunting or pride in ancestors who once were patriots, but is to be tested simply by service by women as well as men, not a peculiar service in time of war for a few.

As a people we lack the kind of patriotism most needed. The spectacular type appeals to us. Our Fourth of July annual slaughter, our making almost a fetish of the flag are but two illustrations of it. The daily thought of our country's needs, the willingness to do unpaid services without thought of pension or title or honor or promotion is rarer among Americans than

among Englishmen. The young woman as well as young man must be inspired to chivalric, valiant mood. She should see in her club work, church work, her home life and vocation avenues of patriotic service worthy the spirit of devotion and faithfulness of Jeanne d'Arc or of Florence Nightingale. Women are the buyers and educators. They set the standard of living and the ideals of the child. They largely control the standards of amusements. They can practically control race prejudice and the tendency to a caste system, which always conduce to special privilege and militarism.

We need women with a patriotism which is equal to sacrificing bridge whist parties in order to teach little immigrant citizens, not colonial history, which they can learn at school, but the best American standards of wholesome living. We need debutantes with a patriotism which is equal to some sacrifice of the parties and pleasure of the privileged for the masses whose poverty or ignorance or illness menace the republic. We need women who will bring to the busy men who earn their bread something of the vision and wide outlook over national problems which their clubs and reading ought to furnish.

Probably the best patriotic work among the women's organizations to-day is being done by the women's clubs, though they do not label their work as patriotic. But whoever works against child labor and for conservation, education and good citizenship is doing the highest form of patriotic service. This week, at the Biennial of the Federation of Women's Clubs at Cincinnati, for the first time the peace movement is to be put upon the program, and, though it is to be argued pro and con, it is no longer to be ignored by this able body of eight hundred thousand women who are actively engaged in promoting the national welfare.

If women are to work effectively they must learn facts which they usually cannot learn from the men of their household, as uninformed as themselves. The average man does not know of one in a hundred of the manifold international organizations which to-day are binding the world more closely together than were our colonies prior to the Constitutional Convention. He scarcely knows of the Interparliamentary Union, has probably never heard of the new auxiliary to the peace movement, the International Institute of Agriculture, with headquarters in Rome, to which forty-nine nations by a treaty are pledged. Small blame to many a hard-worked, busy father who gets his political philosophy from headlines. But what he does not

know on these new subjects, never taught in his school days, let him not scorn to learn from his wife or college daughter.

The main question of defense is a human question, I repeat, a psychological question. In this promotion of international friendship let the home maker, wherever there are Chinese or Japanese students, offer, when possible, courtesies and hospitality to these strangers who are to be leaders in lands with whom we earnestly desire to retain our old-time friendship. Let this rapidly increasing body of keen, alert young minds from the Orient carry home not merely a knowledge of our college laboratories and dormitories, but also of our refined Christian homes. A little thoughtful friendliness may do more to avert a costly tension between two different races or nationalities than all the battleships that can be mustered in the Pacific.

President John M. Thomas of Middlebury College, Vt., was the next speaker. Dr. Thomas, having first stated the economic argument commonly used by the friends of peace against war and warlike preparations, took up his main theme as follows:

THE DYNAMIC OF A SUCCESSFUL WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT.

President John M. Thomas, Middlebury College, Vt.

I do not believe that we can ever combat successfully the tremendous military might of the world by appeal to its economic waste. Not only are there compensating advantages on the side of militarism, but there are undoubted benefits accruing to nations, which, on a purely materialistic basis, justify the expenditure. It was the Roman army which made the wealth of Rome, and the Dreadnaughts and their predecessors have given England her commercial supremacy. The rebirth of industrial Germany dates from the Franco-Prussian War, and if Napoleon had conquered it doubtless would have been worth to France in dollars and cents the cost of his legions. The race-old fighting instinct is not altogether mistaken. Men fight to get gain, and nations wage war to acquire territory and to secure the advantages of territorial acquisition. It is because trade follows the flag that the flag is pushed forward, and if trade is the master of our conduct, the thing to do is to advance the flag. We shall exhibit the cost of our navies in vain to men

who seek first the kingdoms of this world and their riches. It may be there is a wiser political economy, which has no place for military aggression, but if so, it includes other interests than commercial ones. The pursuit of wealth can never be the foundation of a noble state or a lasting peace. Sooner or later advantage will dictate war, and the nation which regards its own selfish interest as its primary duty and first concern must be deceitful in its diplomacy, and prudent, keen, and daring in its military preparations. If the wealth of this earth, its supplies of food and clothing and luxuries, are to be the chief interest of men, they must fight for the possession of them, since nature by no means distributes them equally, and hunger and greed will force to conflict. In the dispensation of the struggle for existence there must be bloodshed. The fruitage of the earth is limited, and populations increase with incredible swiftness.

> "Warless, when her tens are thousands, and her thousands millions, then
> All her harvests are too narrow; who can picture warless men?"

Universal peace is an idle, fanatical dream so long as harvests are the motive which controls our life. We must find a more powerful dynamic than the wasteful havoc of Krupp guns, for however the gun may waste humanity, it is the nation's instrument of power and not infrequently the enginery of plenty to the citizens composing the nation.

Yet every instinct within us cries out against aggressive conflict, and international wars must go the way of the robber baron's castles and the black ships of pirates. To say that on a commercial basis militarism is justified is not to defend battleships and standing armies, but to exhibit the necessity of a new basis for the regulation of national conduct. If to live for gain means to be ready to fight, we must find another motive for life. The condemnation of war is right, and the most fanatical peace agitator is nearer the truth than the most skillful defender of militarism, but the peace advocate needs to shift his argument to a higher plane than that of profit and loss. Where shall we find the sufficient argument, the adequate dynamic for a peace movement that shall conquer the world?

In the days of Tiberius Cæsar, toward the latter part of his reign, when the world was waiting for death to stop his cruelty and tyranny, there went a sower forth to sow. In Rome a tyrant monarch, debauched and bestial, crushing the last remnants of a people's liberties, in absolute control of the grandest

despotism the world has known; in poor, remote Galilee a humble, unlettered man, who called himself a sower of seed.

His seed was the word: not some word formulated by a great master of reasoning, nor the word vouchsafed of God to some great prophet of the past, but his own word, the word God vouchsafed to him as he worked at his bench and looked off on the shepherds on the mountains and listened in the synagogue to the laws and sermons of a former time. His field was the land of his people, of his own race, especially Galilee, the northern part of it, the active, worldly business part, as distinguished from the quieter, more scholarly, more religious Judea. He refused to teach others than his own people, but went from village to village of his countrymen, sowing his seed. He found the soil not very promising, but he kept on, sowing seed. He did not try to do anything else, to turn himself into a statesman or lawgiver, or bishop or priest. His function and work was that of a seed-sower, and he gave out his truth, as clearly and forcibly as he could, until they took away his life.

The seed that he planted was that the highest good is not in houses and lands, nor in possessions great or small, nor in individual attainment, whether of material things, or wealth of knowledge, or even personal religious merit, or anything that a man locks up within himself, but in identification of one's self in the common interest, the broad universal good of God and man and the world. His disciples were not to seek by a different way the things which the nations of the world seek after; they were not to seek them at all. They were not to strive for the treasures of earth, material, intellectual, or even religious; they were to strive for the treasures of heaven. They were to find their life in love, not because love brings happiness, or leads to the highest development of manhood, nor for any interest centering in self, but simply because the larger good claims their manhood.

The truth of the seed-sower is that the very nature bred in us by the millenniums of struggles for self misguides the soul in its quest for life. Values are not where we think them. The whole category of personal enrichment is an error. The miser of knowledge, the miser of personal satisfaction in religious peace and immediate comprehension of God, the miser of joy in the sense of merit through duty done is as much a fool as the miser of gold. There is no currency in which a man may be rich unto himself, and as long as he counts aught his own he has not found the secret of the glory of humanity's

true estate. The only good is common good. Service is not a subsidiary duty; it is the all of life. Love must go to the length of the cross, and only in love in that measure is true life attained.

The discovery of Jesus was the sense of the common good. One of his disciples rightly discerned that in him was neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free. Under the dominion of his truth there is no Briton nor American, no French nor German, but one world-wide family into which each nation brings its treasure. A man must love his country, but not for what his nation may gain at the expense of others, but for what his country has to contribute to the welfare of the world. There will be separate peoples and governments until the dawn of the millennium, and patriotism will never be an extinct virtue. But the world must become so organized that the patriot will not be required to give his life for a section of the race, but for some noble endeavor in the uplift of the whole.

They crucified the seed-sower, and those who came after him and called themselves by his name made little progress, after the first few years of inspiration from his presence, in the understanding of his truth. But his words were preserved, not in the most skillful manner, but, nevertheless, considering the haphazard method, with remarkable fidelity. The leaven has been working, slowly, gradually, but persistently, and never more mightily than in the last few decades, when criticism has brought the Galilean teaching to clearer light and truer understanding than ever before. At length there has come to view another dispensation than that of the struggle for existence. The higher privilege and the grander glory of endeavor for the worthy existence of all is now clear, and it is destined to transform the entire *régime* under which humanity pursues its life. New motives are coming in to govern men's lives, and new ideals to fire their enthusiasm. The service of all is taking the place of the advancement of the individual, and the aggrandizement of one's class or nation as the spring of enterprise. The welfare of humanity is coming to the fore as the principle of conduct, of the conduct of nations as well as that of individuals, rather than the advancement of self or one's own social group.

Under the new dispensation war is absolutely out of place. Our costly navies and highly organized armies are but the successors of the tooth and claw of the brute age, the scythed chariot of the Assyrian, the midnight tomahawk of the red Indian. Krupp guns and poisoned arrows are the same in

principle, differing only in cleverness. The whole system of destruction is an anachronism in the day of the vision of the common good as the master of life.

What we need as the dynamic of a successful world peace movement is a new and commanding conception of the common good. The war drums will beat until the nations realize that the kingdom of God exists, a reality claiming the service and the life of every last one of the children of men. Religion, the old-time mother of civilizations, the kindler of fire in the hearts of men, must take the vision of a common humanity, each serving each and all united for the uplift of all, and flash the compelling truth before the world. None but prophets have ever ushered in a new day of glory for the earth, and on prophets, not calculators, must we wait for the glorious triumph of the message of peace. Religion alone has the divine might to glorify the idea of the common good with the grandeur of compelling duty. She alone can touch the imaginations of men with the grandeur of a world in which every nation seeks its highest development in industry, in intelligence, in artistic skill, in spiritual character, and lays every attainment on the altar of the common good of the world.

We have had ecclesiastical religion, in which the interests of the world were subserved to those of the church, and the goal was not a renewed humanity, but the selection of an aristocracy in privilege and enjoyment. We have had the religion of the pietists and mystics, in which the individual was concerned for his soul alone and left the brutal world to take its way. We have had national religions, which served to hold tribes together under a common worship and to preserve the boundaries of a state or the institutions of a race. We need now prophets in every religion to herald the truth of the higher good for the individual than his own personal gain, and the nobler mission of the nation than its increase in wealth and prosperity, the worthier duty even of a religious faith than to make converts to its tenets. We need prophets of the universal kingdom of God, and when they appear in the might of the Lord the navies of all the nations shall melt away —

> "And peace shall over all the earth its ancient splendors fling,
> And the whole earth give back the song which now the angels sing."

Constantine misread his sign. It was not "By this sign conquer the heathen"; it was "By this sign conquer all legions and armies, Christian as well as pagan, and let war give way

to love." In the days of Tiberius Cæsar there went a sower forth to sow. The empire of Tiberius long since crumbled, and now the system of brute force on which it was founded is swaying to its doom, for the harvest of the seed-sower is beginning to come to its fruitage.

Dr. Thomas was followed by Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews of Boston, Secretary of the American School Peace League, who said :

THE POWER OF WOMEN TO PROMOTE PEACE IN THE SCHOOLS.

Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, Secretary of the American School Peace League.

A discussion of women's power to promote peace in the schools involves a general consideration of the potent and actual influence of women in school affairs. In three capacities, their services in this connection may be estimated. The first rôle which woman plays is that of mother ; the second, of the woman in organized activities, such as the mothers' club, the women's club, and the patriotic societies ; and third, that of teacher.

The mother who teaches her child the principles on which the international peace movement is founded makes an important contribution to the ideals which the teacher is able to establish. The mothers' club, the women's club and the patriotic society might well become organized appeals for the teaching of the facts and principles of internationalism. These bodies are potent agencies for developing public opinion in favor of such instruction. But the teacher is the one person who can carry such teaching into execution.

One great necessity confronts the woman acting in any one of these capacities, namely, to acquaint herself thoroughly with the movement. There are special reasons, however, why teachers should become acquainted with the facts and principles of this social, economic and political force. In the first place, there are at the basis of the movement these ethical ideals which the teacher labors to establish and to foster within her own field of activity. The inculcation of such ideals lifts the growing youth to a higher plane of social and civic life.

Since this development of international politics, leading directly toward a federation of the nations, vitally concerns our own country, which has taken on during the last ten years a

new economic and political significance among the nations of the world, the teacher of geography and history should understand the progress of the international movement. The pupil should learn through geography that the resources of all countries are needed to supply our wants; in fact, that every active man, wherever he may be, makes some contribution to the well being of the world at large.

To give the proper interpretation to the historical records of our country,— whose federation of states foreshadows the federation of nations; whose national congress, the congress of the world; whose supreme court, the permanent international court,— the teacher of history must bring out the fact that our history is a part of world history, and that we have a racial inheritance to which people of various lands and ages have made invaluable contributions. Our national life, in all its phases, is closely interwoven with the life of European countries. Our teachers must point out, too, the special mission of the United States, the greatest experiment in the development of democracy, in the movement for the completion of the great union of nations.

Such acquaintance on the part of teachers with the principles and facts of internationalism will inevitably keep our schools abreast of the most advanced thought of the age. This, then, leads to a third justification for the study of the international movement by teachers. Possessing this knowledge, they are able to teach the actual events of international political progress, which constitute in reality the most notable fact in modern history. Aside from the history courses, current events' classes, which aim to present the whole panorama of contemporaneous occurrences, lend themselves especially well to this end. And, finally, the appropriate observance of the Eighteenth of May, the anniversary of the opening of the first Peace Congress at The Hague, offers to the teacher the opportunity of calling to mind the principles for which this commemorative day stands, so to stimulate sentiments that make for international peace. On this day a special review should be made of the principal forces leading up to the calling of the Hague Conferences, of their work, the definite results so far accomplished and the achievements yet hoped for. Through such teaching there will be developed that state of mind which, without criticising the past, will be able to discern the heroic figures in the peaceful progress of the world, and give them their just and rightful place in the world's history.

The American School Peace League, whose president is Superintendent James H. Van Sickle of Baltimore, was organized to create this state of mind, and to this end it seeks the coöperation of the teachers of America. The League is an outgrowth of the National Peace Congress which met in New York in 1907. It comprises to-day representative educators from every State in the Union; and in order to clinch and extend such educational interests, it is the plan of the League to organize State Branches. On the occasion of the meetings of their respective State Teachers' Associations, Maine, Massachusetts, Virginia, New York, New Jersey, New Mexico, South Carolina, Texas, Florida, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Alabama, Georgia and Mississippi have already taken this step. Plans for similar action are under way in several other States, and there is every reason to expect that within the next year the family of State Branches will be complete.

One of unique organization is the branch formed last August at the Summer School of the South. The membership is composed mainly of Southern teachers who are promoting the formation of branches in the Southern States. Their efforts are directed by the secretary of the Southern Branch, Mr. William K. Tate, Superintendent of Schools, Charleston, S. C., while the local work is carried out by committees corresponding to the standing committees of the League.

When the League was organized, various committees were selected as being most essential to the development of the work. One committee of very great importance is that on Meetings and Discussions, which seeks to extend the knowledge of the international movement through meetings and discussions, especially in connection with educational conventions and teachers' reading circles, of which there are great numbers in all parts of the country. It will prepare programs for this purpose and suggest appropriate speakers, who will be included in a lecture bureau which is now being established. This committee has also in preparation an outline of study which can be used by teachers' reading circles.

In response to the great need for available literature on the subject of internationalism which directly appeals to teachers and young people, the League has, through its Publications Committee, secured the services of several practical teachers, who are preparing articles for this purpose. The League has published ten thousand copies of Superintendent Wilbur F. Gordy's address on "Teaching Peace in the Schools through

Instruction in American History," which he delivered at the annual meeting in Denver last July. This address, which is of vital concern to the development of the international idea among teachers, was published in the *Educational Review* for September, 1909. One of the members of the Publications Committee has undertaken the preparation of a manual consisting of graded exercises for the observance of the 18th of May in the schools.

On account of the special importance of the teaching of history in promulgating the ideas consistent with the international movement, a Committee on the Teaching of History was formed. Its function is to develop among teachers a sentiment that recognizes the arts of peace as well as those of war in the historical development of nations. It is arranging, therefore, courses of history to be given at teachers' institutes and summer schools.

The Press Committee is reaching the teachers through the educational magazines and the daily press. It has published during this year a series of articles by Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, entitled "Internationalism and Patriotism." The specific titles of these articles are as follows: "The American School Peace League," "Some Current Fallacies," "Teaching Patriotism," "Peace Day" and "Flag Day." The educational press of the country has already responded to the request of the League to print various reports and especially the announcement of the peace prize essay and peace pin contests.

The League offered this year two sets of prizes, one open to the Seniors in the normal schools of the United States and the other open to the Seniors in the secondary schools, for the best essays on one of the following subjects:

1. The United States the Exemplar of an Organized World.
2. The History of International Arbitration.
3. The History and Significance of the Two Hague Peace Conferences.
4. The Opportunity and Duty of the Schools in the International Peace Movement.
5. The Evolution of Patriotism.

Three prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars will be given for the three best essays in both sets.

The contest closed March 1, 1910.

Two sets of prizes are also offered for the most artistic and appropriate designs which may be used as the official symbol of the American School Peace League. Such designs must lend themselves to decorative purposes, such as brooches, scarf pins, etc.

First set: Open to the public and private elementary schools of the United States.

Second set: Open to the public and private secondary schools of the United States.

Three prizes of seventy-five, fifty and twenty-five dollars will be given for the three best designs in both sets.

The contest closed May 1, 1910.

While the League is national in its scope and efforts, it realizes its international functions, on the basis of which the International Committee was formed. Indeed, the initiative has already been taken by keen-sighted and earnest workers outside our borders. From New Brunswick, Australia, Norway, Russia and England have come requests for the Annual Report of the League and literature on the peace movement, especially that bearing on the educational phase. The secretary of the League is to spend two months in Europe this summer for the purpose of organizing an International School Peace League, of which the American School Peace League will be the American Branch.

The great number of inquiries received in America concerning literature have impressed the League with the importance of having such literature placed in libraries. To answer this need the League has compiled a list of books and pamphlets which it hopes to see placed in every library of the country. This, no doubt, will further the cause of internationalism in a fundamental and permanent way. The League looks to the State Branches for active support in this endeavor.

THE NEW INTERNATIONALISM IN THE SCHOOLS.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall, National Council of Women.

Mrs. May Wright Sewall spoke of the important part that has been taken by the International Council of Women in the peace movement. Organized in Washington twenty-two years ago, it is represented in twenty-four different countries, and has a membership of seven million members, with Lady Aberdeen as president. This great international force works not only for a common moral standard, a common standard of personal purity and personal chastity by men and women, not only for the abolition of legal and political discriminations in the status of men and women, but for peace and better international

relations. It endeavors to send teachers out of their own countries to visit the schools of other countries in order that by an exchange of ideas better international acquaintance and understanding may be promoted.

Mrs. Sewall believes that an important work is to be done in the United States in preparing a history so based upon feelings of mutual respect between the sections that it may be used alike on both sides of the Mason and Dixon line. Mrs. Sewall made a strong plea also for a history that would teach boys and girls respect for the various races and nations of the world by showing what each had contributed to the world's welfare. She condemned the use of contemptuous epithets in speaking of other peoples. In response to a request for advice from a former pupil, who is teaching in a community in which there is a large proportion of foreign born children, she had written: "Teach your children to say 'Angelo' and not 'Dago' when they look at an Italian child. Think of the influence of that race for hundreds and hundreds of years upon the whole world. As for the Hebrew, teach the child to say Moses and David and Jesus, and he shall not dare to feel rebellious contempt."

Mrs. Sewall's closing remarks, which were full of broad-spirited internationalism, were as follows:

Now we are a composite people. We are growing more and more composite, and the more composite we become the more nearly shall we become children of God, that human reflection made in His own nature. That God-creature was not of Anglo-Saxon descent, and we are not to pride ourselves because we are Angles or Saxons or Danes or Norse or Swedes or Dutch or Germans or Irish or Scotch or Italians or Greeks, but because we are of humanity, and to the degree that we can enter into the spirit of every section of this composite humanity to which we belong, to that degree do we enter into its wholeness, into its fullness, to that degree are we really international, to that degree shall we be able to teach internationalism to our children, and to no other degree; not by arrogance, not by contempt, but by a recognition that within this humanity every section of it has been in its own time, and it is to be in its own time, that chosen people created to make its distinct contribution to the whole race. Recognizing what the distinct contribution of every people that has in the past come to its fullness has been, recognizing that we are fractional if we exclude

them from our affection and our reverence, we shall be able to teach them that greater sentiment, that patriotism, that love of all humanity which will make us feel that no service to our country is a real service, an abiding or a permanent service, that makes and breeds the sense of isolation. It is only noble in so far as it is a service of the whole. Recognizing that no fractional part of humanity can permanently be advanced at the expense of any other fractional part or at the expense of all the rest, and that no part can be left out, no part can any more be left out of our recognition of it than of God's creation of it.

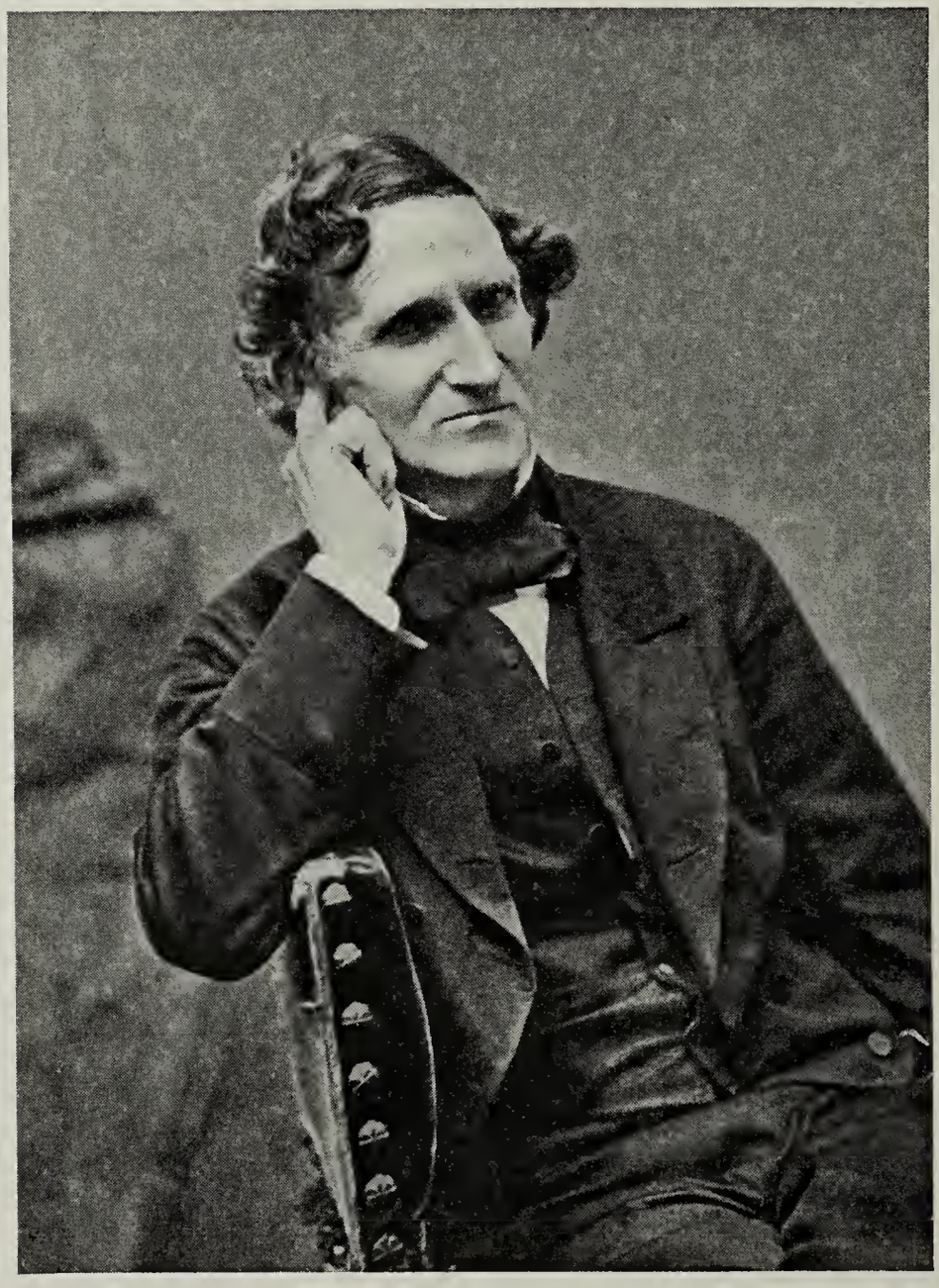
I do believe it is the sentiment which is destined to bind all the separate fractions of the world together in the sense of oneness in which each nation will feel a larger, a deeper, a more abounding and fruitful patriotism than has ever been felt by any branch of humanity, at the same time recognizing the fact that its patriotism even is to be measured by the service of its country to the whole. That is what our International Council stands for.

Mrs. Anna Sturges Duryea of the International School of Peace spoke briefly on her work among women's clubs.

THE BURRITT CELEBRATION.

Historic Pilgrimage of the Friends of Peace to New Britain.

The Burritt Celebration at New Britain, Tuesday afternoon and evening, was the most unique and probably the most picturesque event in the annals of the peace movement. It is doubtful if any American citizen or citizen of whatever nation ever received the same kind of tribute as was given that day to Burritt. The day was full of international significance. Elihu Burritt was born in New Britain December 10, 1810, and this is his anniversary year; but his friends felt that a centenary celebration in his honor would be most impressive as a part of the program of the New England Peace Congress. A committee of seventy persons had been appointed to arrange for the occasion. So much faithful work was put into the celebration by a great number of people that it would be invidious to single out any individual as the leading spirit. But the success realized was due in a large degree to the originality and enterprise of Rev. Herbert A. Jump, pastor of the First



ELIHU BURRITT

CENTENNIAL 1810–1910.

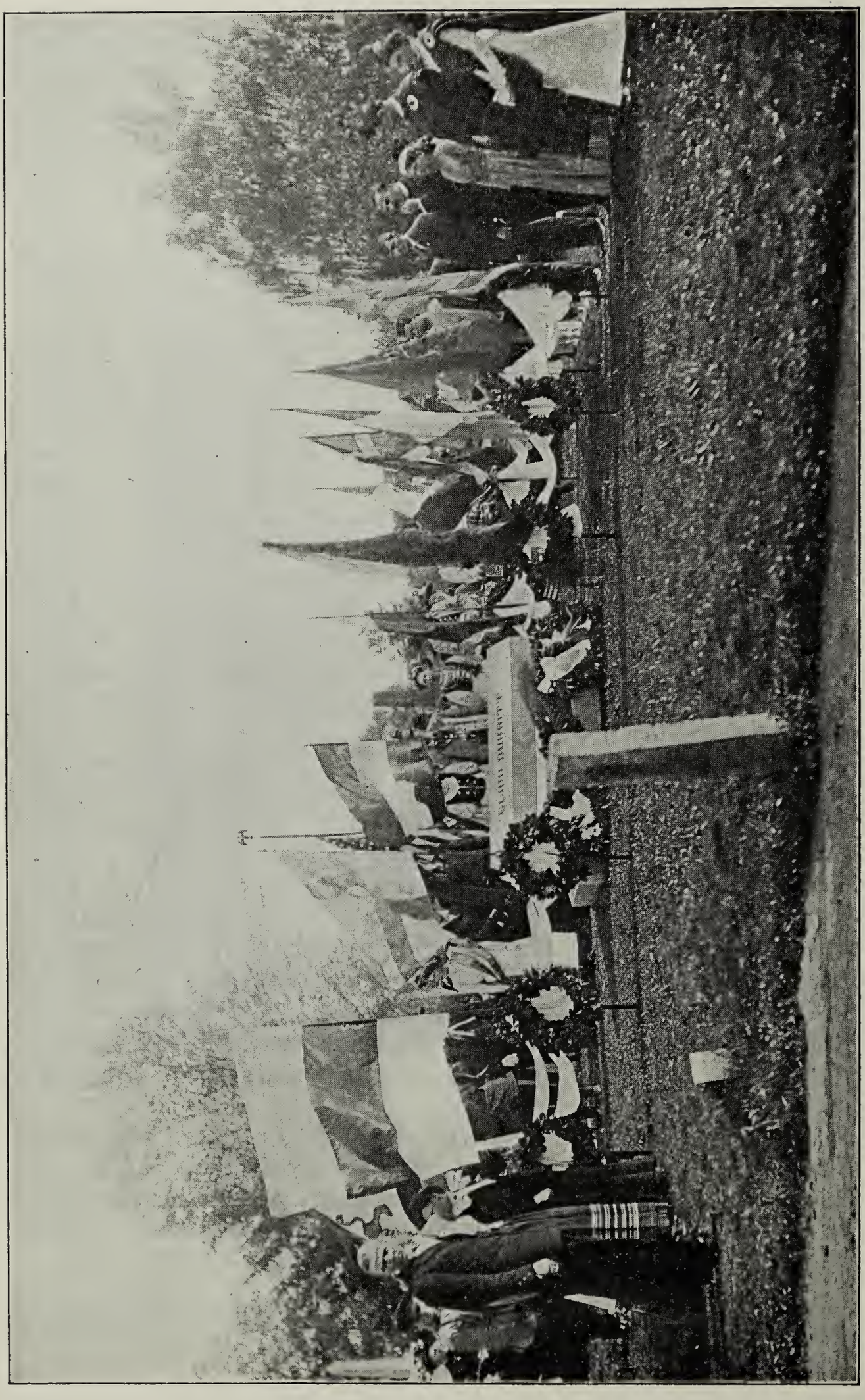
Congregational Church, who kept the idea constantly before the people, proposed attractive features and secured worthy speakers. Mr. Jump showed what may be done to popularize the peace movement in a manner adapted to the American mind.* Great credit was also due to Mrs. Annie S. Churchill, secretary of the Burritt Memorial Committee, who has for several years been active in raising a fund for a permanent Burritt memorial; to her daughter, Miss Rose Churchill; and to Mr. and Mrs. George S. Talcott, for their influence in maintaining a rare appropriateness and dignity in the program; to Hon. George M. Landers, Prof. Marcus White and others.

The celebration was an expression of all the twenty-seven nationalities represented in New Britain. Everybody was enthusiastic in doing his part quite as much as if he had been a personal friend and life-long neighbor of Mr. Burritt. The whole city of fifty thousand people gave up the ordinary duties of the day for the celebration. Stores, banks, factories, schools and offices, all were closed. Public buildings on the main streets and private residences everywhere were decorated with flags and bunting. At Central Park one could see the flags of all nations. A great Burritt banner hung across one of the main squares of the city bearing Goldwin Smith's sentiment, now the motto adopted by the Cosmopolitan Clubs, "Above all nations is humanity."

The guests of the Congress were carried from Hartford to New Britain by the citizens of the latter city in automobiles. On each automobile were two little pennants, one white, the other green, designated as the Burritt colors, which were everywhere displayed throughout the city. White stood for the principle of peace; green symbolized the "Olive Leaf Mission," the name given to the press sheets on which Mr. Burritt circulated short articles on peace and fraternity to the leading periodicals of the world half a century ago. Every delegate in Hartford was provided with a package of literature containing a sketch of the life of Burritt, other souvenirs and a program of exercises.

The automobile parties, having been driven about the principal streets, that they might see the decorations and get a glimpse of the homes of this thriving city, went in procession to the cemetery, where seats were provided for them on a grand stand erected before a large open space near Mr. Burritt's grave.

* For an account of the celebration by Mr. Jump, see *New York Independent*, May 19, 1910, and for his suggestion as to the value of such an occasion in teaching patriotism, see *Christian Register*, June 23, 1910.



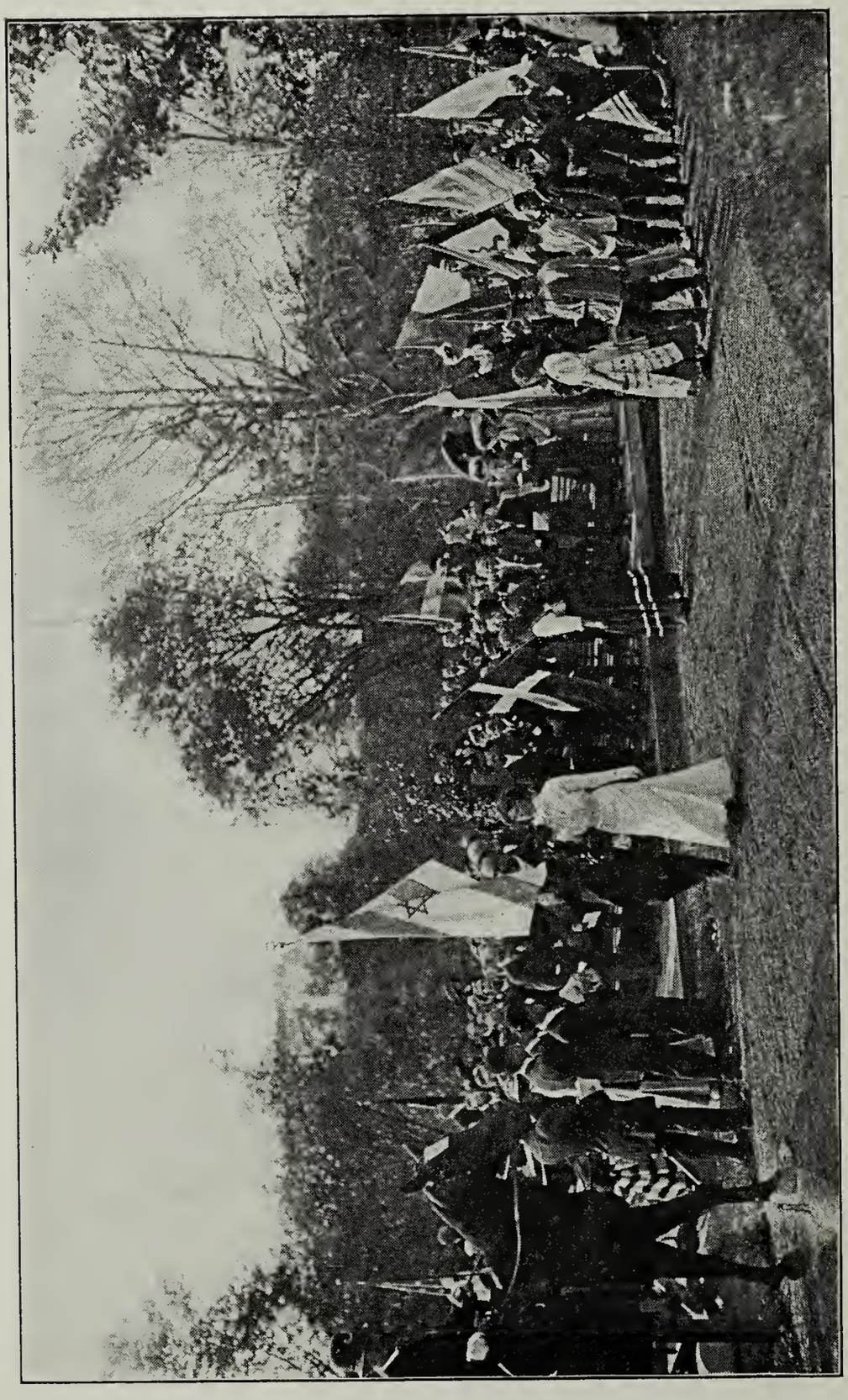
THE NATIONS AT THE GRAVE OF BURRITT.

THE PROCESSION.

A great civic procession, which had started from the center of the city, marched into the cemetery, the head of the procession reaching there just as the delegates became seated. Besides the usual escort of police came the Mayor and members of the Common Council, who took seats on the grand stand just in the rear of the speakers, a group of whom surrounded Hon. James Brown Scott, the orator of the day. Next came a series of emblematic floats and several divisions of school children, three thousand in all, public schools and parochial schools joining together, each preceded by banner bearers with the names of the schools, among them the Burritt School, named in honor of the hero of peace; between some of the school divisions marched bands.

One of the most interesting of the floats was that of the "international group," representing fifteen nations in native costume. These were England, Germany, Ireland, Sweden, Scotland, Hebrews, Denmark, China, Russia, Italy, Poland, France, Persia, Greece and America. The members dismounted and passed the reviewing stand in pairs, a man carrying his national flag, accompanied by a woman carrying a laurel wreath. Each of these halted before the delegates, made a bow, dipped the national color and declared itself to be the tribute to Elihu Burritt of the nation represented, repeating such phrases as "England's tribute," "Germany's tribute," with pride and enthusiasm. No national delegation made more of an impression than that of Persia, which reminded the spectators that Mr. Burritt's interest in Oriental languages had taken him intellectually to the ends of the earth, which had now come back to do him homage. When the American white-bordered banner, the largest of all, bringing up the rear, saluted the audience, the man who bore it won a round of applause by saying, "America, the half brother of all nations, greets you."

The members of the "international group" then laid wreaths around sockets about Burritt's grave, and placed their flags in the sockets where they could be seen from the grand stand. The general procession of symbolic floats was led by classes of the High School, each representing an idea which was wrought out with great care in decoration and costume. The Seniors personified the arts of peace. The Juniors enacted a scene from the life of William Penn. The Sophomores



THE NATIONS SALUTING.

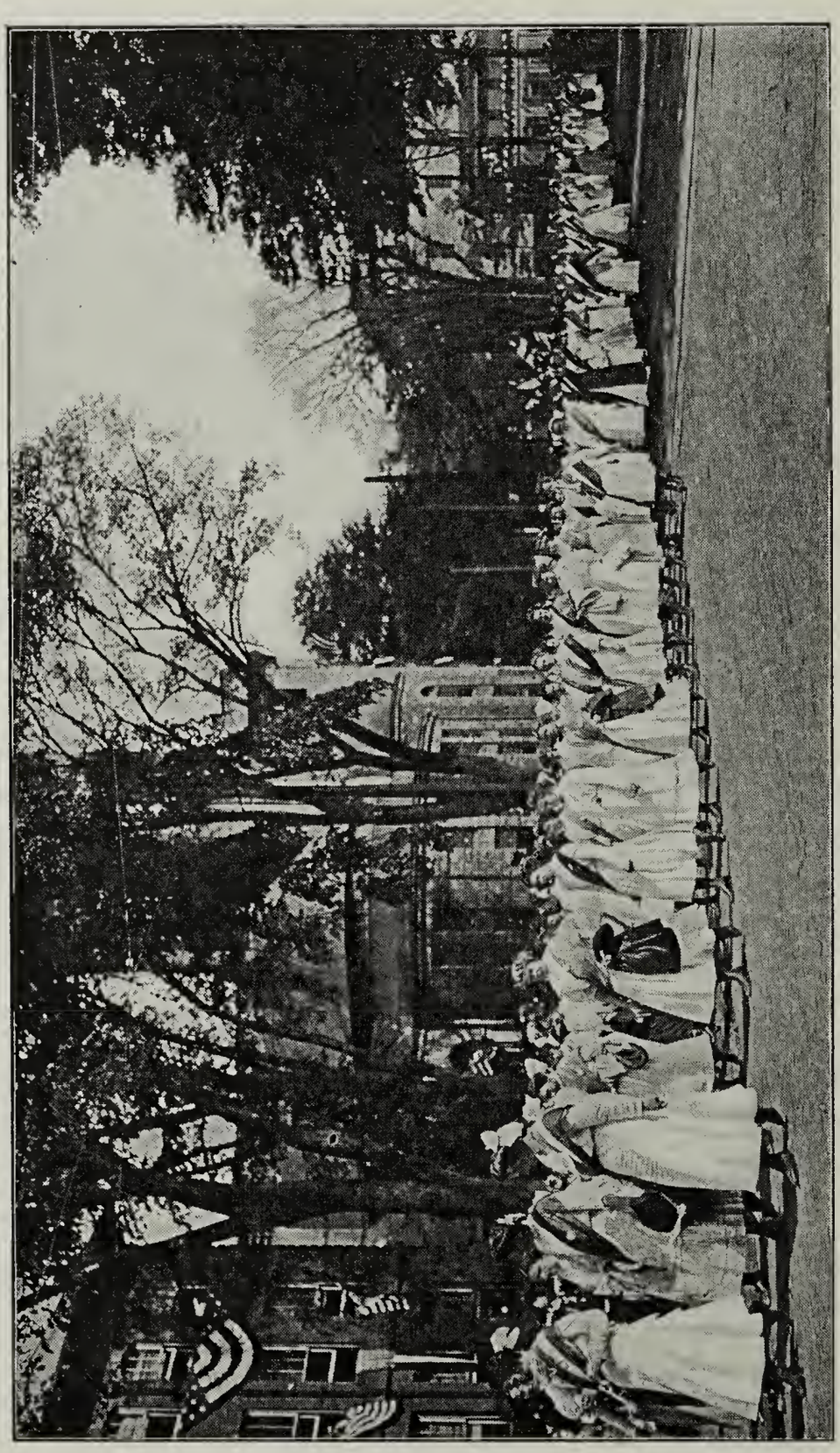
illustrated the theme "Peace and the Nations." The Freshmen recalled the vision of the Hebrew prophet when he proclaimed the coming of the day of universal peace.

The second division of floats was the contribution of various societies, civic and fraternal, such as the Elks, Eagles, Knights of Pythias, Red Men, United German Societies, Hebrew Societies, and the Young Men's Christian Association, each in some way symbolizing peace or acting some scene from lodge ritual exemplifying a virtue.

The most significant floats were those of the different nationalities. All of them testified to the coöperative spirit of a respectable body of foreign descended citizens. Some of the floats, those of the Italians and Germans, for example, were escorted by hundreds of people of the nationality which they represented, and brought home to the dullest observer the thought that was frequently heard from the lips of speakers that "America is the melting pot of the nations." One of the most original floats was that of the Swedish contingent, which illustrated the awards of the Nobel prize. The float of the United Jewish Societies exemplified the Scriptural passage, "A little child shall lead them," and bore mottoes such as, "One nation shall not lift up the sword against another nation." The Young Men's Christian Association division was cosmopolitan, being made up of twenty-five nationalities bearing the motto, "The unity of the nations." And the committee did not forget to include, as indispensable to the thought of the day, a representation of the little red schoolhouse where Elihu Burritt was educated.

EXERCISES AT THE GRAVE. ORATION OF DR. SCOTT.

When the procession had passed the exercises at the grave of Burritt began, Principal Marcus White of the State Normal School presiding. A school children's chorus of two hundred and fifty voices sang, under the charge of Prof. G. B. Matthews. Invocation was made by Rev. H. W. Maier, pastor of Mr. Burritt's church. The chief historic part of the exercises, however, was the oration by Dr. James Brown Scott of Washington. The oration (see the full report elsewhere) was short, appreciative and eloquent. A more appropriate choice for speaker could not have been made, for he, like William Ladd and Elihu Burritt, has recently stood preëminently for a High Court of Nations. But what was of most significance in his address could hardly be realized at the time by his hearers, and only



THE MARCH OF THE SCHOOL CHILDREN.

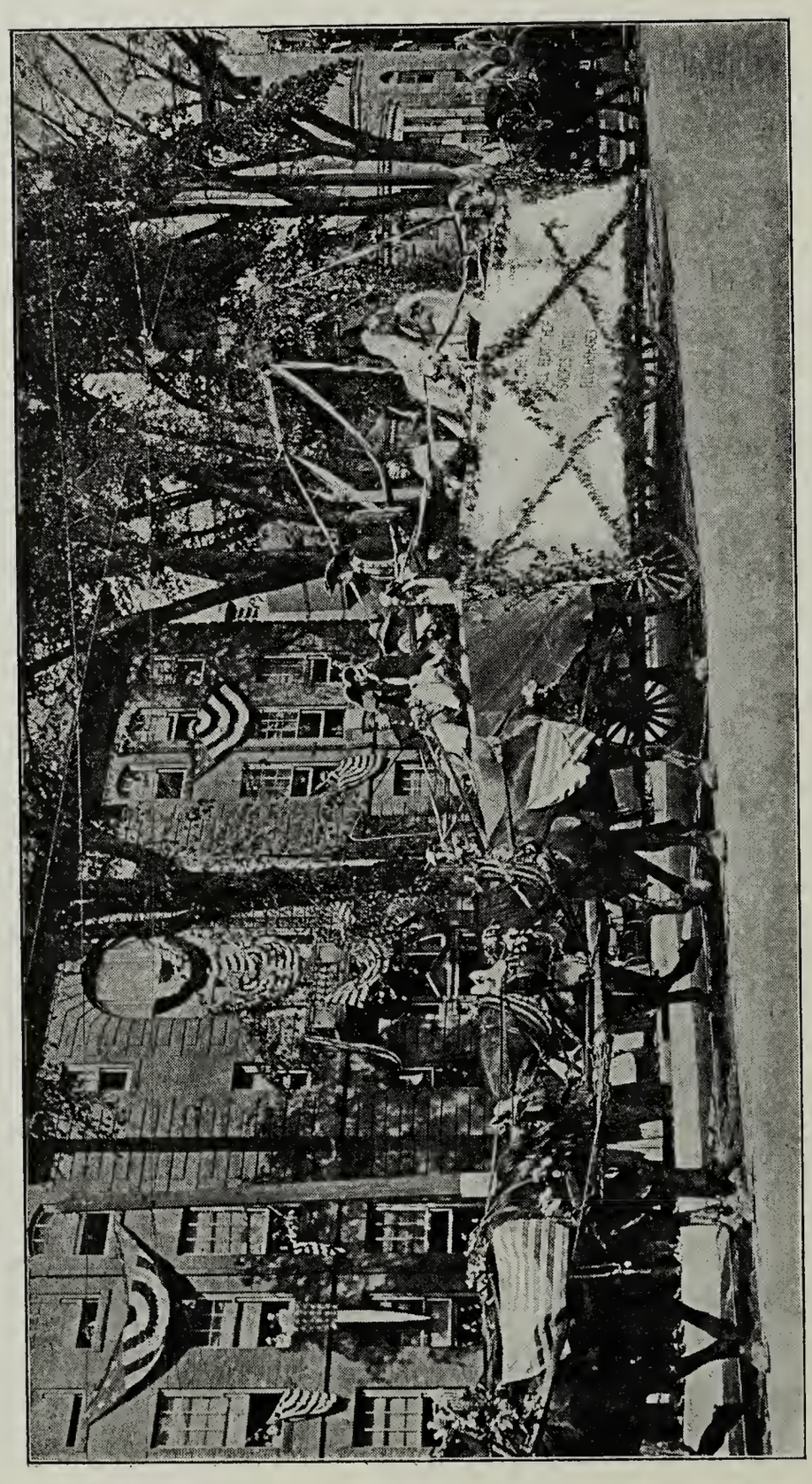
now has begun to be understood by the world. This was the semi-official announcement, interpolated by Dr. Scott in his speech, that the Court of Arbitral Justice, for which the State Department of the United States has been working, is now actually in process of being established.

"I deem it," he said, "a great privilege to be able, as it were, almost officially to make that announcement to you here to-day in the very presence of the spirit of the man who proclaimed the idea not merely in the United States, but popularized it in Europe, and made it a living reality."

After the exercises at the grave the delegates were driven to the New Britain Institute, where they were received by the committee, by Miss Anna Strickland, a niece of Mr. Burritt, and other representatives of his family. They were also shown the Burritt manuscripts and books, and the portrait of Mr. Burritt made by the British artist, Munns. The delegates and many citizens of New Britain then went to supper at the First, the South and the Methodist Churches, where they were hospitably entertained.

In the evening a Burritt mass meeting was held in the Russwin Lyceum. This brought out such a large audience that it was necessary to have parallel exercises in the First Church, to which later the distinguished speakers repaired. The presiding officer at the Lyceum was Hon. C. E. Mitchell, and at the First Church Rev. Dr. J. H. Bell. There was a jubilee chorus of trained singers, under the direction of Prof. E. F. Laubin, which rendered Gounod's "Gallia." There was also a mixed choir from St. Mary's Parochial School. Invocation was made by Rev. Dr. R. F. Moore, pastor of St. Joseph's Church, and an address of welcome given by Mayor Joseph M. Halloran. The orator of the evening was Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue of New York. This single passage was the keynote of his address: "Back of every interest and concern and endeavor of the life of Elihu Burritt lay his passion for humanity. He was one of the earliest and greatest humanitarians of the nineteenth century. Nothing human was remote from him; nothing human failed to arouse the interest and to stir the soul of 'this most persistent prophet of reform.'"

Rabbi Wise was followed by Dean Henry Wade Rogers and ex-Governor Utter of Rhode Island, who made brief addresses. During an interval in the program Mr. Jump announced the result of the competition among the pupils of the schools of New Britain for the best essays on the life of Mr. Burritt.



THE NATIONS SHALL BEAT THEIR SWORDS INTO PLOUGHSHARES.

When the meeting closed the delegates felt that New Britain, in honoring Mr. Burritt, had consecrated permanently for its new generation by this ever-memorable festival the highest conceptions of justice and fraternity that prevail in the world.

ELIHU BURRITT.

HON. JAMES BROWN SCOTT, SOLICITOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

The life of Elihu Burritt, which has been a source of pride to New Britain and an inspiration to the humble of many lands, is, from the worldly point of view, singularly uneventful. Born in 1810 in New Britain, in Connecticut, he died in his native town in 1879, after a lifetime devoted to the service of mankind. A blacksmith by trade, a student by instinct, a scholar by attainment, an author of eminence, a benefactor and philanthropist by profession, he has written his name large in the history of international development. To bring the nations together into fellowship; to point out the likeness of the peoples, rather than to accentuate their differences; to facilitate the exchange of ideas and ideals by travel, personal intercourse and correspondence; to call into being a congress of nations for the codification of the laws of nations and an international court for their interpretation and application to controversies, so that an appeal to arms should be unnecessary—these were his aims, and the realization of these was in part his personal achievement.

Why do the good people of New Britain celebrate the centennial of his birth, and why do representatives of the nations cluster about his grave? It is not because of his learning, however varied and profound, and his knowledge acquired amid untoward and distressing circumstances. It is not because of his character, although worthy of veneration and imitation, for beauty and purity of character would not alone have attracted general attention. Nor is it on account of his ability, for ability does not of itself ensure remembrance. Wide and varied learning and knowledge, irreproachable character and ability of a high order were indeed his, but singly or collectively they would not in themselves have sufficed to make his name "sweet as honey on the lips of men." The gratitude of posterity is due to the fact that he devoted himself unflinchingly and unselfishly to the service of an ideal—an ideal whose realization would redound, not merely to the credit of himself and his country,

but which would promote the happiness and welfare of his fellowmen, elevate the race, and profoundly modify and purify the type of our common civilization. The ideal to which his life and his thought were consecrated was the establishment of a Congress of Nations to formulate and declare the law, and a Court of Nations to interpret the law, codified or created by the Congress of Nations, whereby international controversies might peaceably be settled by the principles of justice without resort to force.

The idea was not original, for it has been the dream and hope of centuries; but his was the honor to proclaim it from the housetop, to organize congresses in its behalf in England and on the Continent, and to create a public opinion for its realization. His work was interrupted by wars on the Continent and a civil war at home; he was not permitted to witness a Pan-American Conference or to acclaim a Peace Conference at The Hague. His feet were entangled in the brier and the brush, and the forest hid from his anxious eyes the light beyond. The promised land he did not see, but he set in motion the forces which have partially realized the hope that burned within him and the aspiration that neither slumbered nor slept. It is for service actually rendered to the cause of international righteousness and international peace that the world holds him in grateful remembrance and hails him as a benefactor of his kind.

The plan for a Congress and a Court of Nations which Mr. Burritt explained and laid before the Peace Conferences of Brussels (1848), Paris (1849), Frankfort (1850), London (1851), was the plan of his fellow-countryman, William Ladd. The Congress was, to quote from Ladd's little "Essay on a Congress of Nations," published in 1840, to be "a Congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty, and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the conditions of man."* In this Congress the nations were to appear and to vote as equals, and the result of their labors was to be submitted to the nations for ratification by the appropriate internal organs.

The resemblance between Mr. Ladd's Congress and the august assembly convoked in 1899 by the Czar of all the Russias is apparent, and the program of the Hague Conferences is

* Essay, page 4.

strikingly like the program drawn up and published by Mr. Ladd. "The Congress of Nations," he said, "is to have nothing to do with the internal affairs of nations, or with insurrections, revolutions or contending factions of people or princes, or with forms of government, but solely to concern themselves with the intercourse of nations in peace and war: (1) To define the rights of belligerents towards each other; and endeavor, as much as possible, to abate the horrors of war, lessen its frequency and promote its termination. (2) To settle the rights of neutrals, and thus abate the evils which war inflicts on those nations that are desirous of remaining in peace. (3) To agree on measures of utility to mankind in a state of peace. (4) To organize a Court of Nations. These are four great divisions of the labors of the proposed Congress of Nations."*

Mr. Ladd's project, reasonable in all its parts, appealed to reason, and neither the favor of princes nor the force at their disposal was to be relied upon to secure its acceptance. Peace societies were to create public opinion, and public opinion, which crowns and uncrowns kings, would institute both Congress and Court. "The best tribute to his clear and judicious mind is," to quote the words of Mr. Burritt, "that the main proposition as he developed it has been pressed upon the consideration of the public mind of Christendom ever since his day, without amendment, addition or subtraction." † Mr. Burritt ascribed to himself the modest rôle of pressing the project "upon the consideration of the public mind of Christendom"; but the spirit of the master passed so completely into the disciple, and the plan of the one and the work of the other are so completely merged in the result, that the honor of the great achievement may not improperly be divided between them.

The project for a Congress of Nations was naturally uppermost in the thoughts of Mr. Ladd and Mr. Burritt, for it was the means whereby certainty and precision were to be given to the laws of nations and their principles reduced to the form of a code, both for the guidance of the nations in their mutual intercourse and of the Court of Nations, to be created by the Congress, in the interpretation of the laws and their application to a concrete case submitted for determination. But the Congress, however important, was not the chief object of their solicitude. It was to subserve a temporary purpose, namely, the codification of the laws of nations; the Court of Nations, on

* Essay, page 16.

† Mr Burritt in Hemenway's "Life of William Ladd," page 15. For a brief sketch of William Ladd, see "New Hampshire in the Peace Movement," in the Appendix to this report.

the contrary, the creature of its hands, was to be permanent, and in its permanency they foresaw its usefulness. A permanent tribunal was to be at hand to decide the controversy. It was not to be created as and when the controversy arose; it was to await the case, not to have the case wait for it; and in its prompt and impartial determination of the controversies submitted Mr. Ladd and Mr. Burritt predicted that the peaceful settlement of international disputes, without a resort to force, would maintain peace, to such a degree indeed that war would be as a stranger and unwelcome visitant in a strange land. Disarmament, or at least the reduction of armament, would be a consequence, not a condition precedent; and the peace of the world would be a peace founded upon justice and maintained by an enlightened and disciplined public conscience, voiced by a no less enlightened public opinion.

From Mr. Burritt's numerous addresses on the Congress and Court of Nations, I select for analysis the one delivered before the congress at Paris in 1849, under the presidency of the illustrious Victor Hugo.

In the opening sentence Mr. Burritt credits William Penn with the idea, and is careful, as was the American delegation at the second Hague Conference, to insist that the project is not American.* The essence of the plan is the convocation of a Congress of Nations, "for the purpose of establishing a well-defined code of international law, and a high court of adjudication to interpret and apply it in the settlement of all international disputes which cannot be satisfactorily arranged by negotiation."

Mr. Burritt here pauses to remark that "a similar proposition emanated from this metropolis more than two centuries ago," a graceful reference to the Nouveau Cynée published by Emeric Crucé at Paris in 1623. "The great tribunal which he proposed was a perpetual court of equity composed of a representative from every recognized kingdom or government in the world. The only material difference," Mr. Burritt generously continues, "between the original and the present form of the project is not a change, but an addition."

After calling attention to the doubt and uncertainty of many of the rules of international law, and the need for certainty and precision, Mr. Burritt then says: "The first work prescribed for a Congress of Nations would be to revise and reconstruct the present code of international law, as it has

* See Mr. Burritt's address before the Frankfort Congress (1850).

been called, and then to present it for ratification to the different national assemblies represented in the Congress." Mr. Burritt believed that "each nation would send to the Congress its most profound statesmen, or juris-consults, so that all the legal wisdom and experience of the age would be brought to bear upon its deliberations." The composition of this assembly is, however difficult, a matter of detail, and Mr. Burritt proposes, by way of example, one delegate for every million of inhabitants. This would be a representative — the Hague Conference was a diplomatic assembly. But, however constituted, "their first great work would be merely to revise a system of principles, precedents and opinions, which had already acquired the name, and even part of the authority, of an international code." With the completion of the code "we would," he says, "have taken the first great step in organizing peace in the society of nations. We have established a basis upon which their intercourse may be regulated by clearly defined and solemnly recognized principles of justice and equity."

This leads to the next step of equal importance, namely, the constitution of "a permanent international tribunal, which shall interpret and apply this code in the adjudication of questions submitted to its decision." In composing this august tribunal, the American origin of the plan is patent, for each nation is to appoint two judges — a number suggested, as Mr. Burritt says, by the Senate of the United States, in which each State, large or small, is represented by two Senators. But here the similarity stops, for Mr. Burritt neither dreams of nor proposes a confederation, nor a United States of the world.

"Neither the Congress nor the High Contracting Nations would pretend to exercise any jurisdiction over the internal affairs of a country, or exert any direct political influence upon its institutions. The great international tribunal which we propose would not be like the Supreme Court of the United States, to which not only the thirty little republics, but every inhabitant of the Union, may appeal for its decision in any case that cannot be settled by inferior authorities. The different nations would still retain all the prerogatives of their mutual independence. Even if differences arose between them, they would endeavor to settle them as before, by negotiation. But if that medium failed to effect an honorable and satisfactory adjustment, they could then refer the matter in dispute to the arbitration of this High Court, which, in concert with

each other, they had constituted for that purpose." Mr. Burritt here makes a wise and prophetic observation: "The existence of such a last court of appeal would inevitably facilitate the arrangement of these questions by negotiation, which is now often embarrassed and thwarted by its dangerous proximity to an appeal to arms."

In this orderly and reasonable proceeding Mr. Burritt sees a substitute for war and the decrease of armament held in readiness for an appeal to the sword But to quote the exact language of Mr. Burritt on this important point: "Whenever a difficulty arose between two countries, the last resort, after negotiation had failed, would not suggest to the mind of either party the terrible trial of the battlefield, but the calm, impartial and peaceful adjudication of the High Tribunal of the Peoples. And when once the idea of war has been displaced in the minds of nations by the idea of a quiet administration of justice and equity, preparations for war, and all the policies which it requires and creates, will gradually disappear from international society. The different nations would soon accustom themselves to refer their cases to this High Court of Appeal with as much confidence as the different States of the American Union now submit their controversies to the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States. On the list of cases brought before that Court may be found sometimes one entitled 'New York *v.* Virginia,' or 'Pennsylvania *v.* Ohio'; and, however heavily the verdict may bear upon one of the parties, scarcely a murmur is heard against it. In like manner we might see reported among other decisions of this international tribunal the case of 'France *v.* England,' 'Denmark *v.* Prussia,' or 'Mexico *v.* the United States.'"

The Congress of Nations was to provide the law which the Court was to interpret and apply, but Mr. Burritt saw that the Court might be empty and without business unless nations pledged themselves to submit to its determination controversies as they arose. Hence he was an outspoken partisan of treaties of arbitration.

Such in brief is the plan for which Mr. Burritt labored unceasingly, both in Europe and America. What is the result of his labors and of the public opinion which he created in no small measure?

An International Peace Conference has twice met at The Hague and has seriously begun the codification and amendment of the law of nations. The great task is being well but

gradually done ; not, as Mr. Burritt hoped, at a session, but piecemeal and in many sessions. Nations move more slowly and deliberately than individuals, but they move,— a fact due to the persistent effort of such enlightened souls as Elihu Burritt. A truly permanent court, although only for the consideration of prize cases, has been created, and a project for a permanent Court of Arbitral Justice has been adopted by the second Hague Peace Conference in 1907 and recommended to the nations for establishment through diplomatic channels. This latter project was presented by the American delegation to the second Conference, and the court is in the process of composition, with every prospect of success,— a fact due to the enlightened initiative of our Secretary of State, Mr. P. C. Knox, who enters into the goodly fellowship of the Penns, the St. Pierres, the Rousseaus, the Benthams, the Kants, the Ladds and the Burritts.

The hundred years which have passed since the birth of Mr. Burritt have brought the nations into close and intimate contact ; a federation exists well nigh in fact, if not in name ; the good of all is seen to be better than the advantage of the many, not to speak of the few, and the prosperity of the one is seen to depend upon the prosperity of all ; the interdependence of nations is slowly but surely winning upon the independence and isolation of nations ; an international diplomatic legislature *ad referendum* has entered into being ; the foundations of an international judiciary have been laid, and the instrumentalities for the organization and the maintenance of peace have been created. To have coöperated in the great movement would have been an honor for any man ; to have been at once a pioneer and leader in advancing the cause of international justice and peace is a secure title to grateful remembrance. The lowly son of New Britain has entered into the company of the immortals.

ELIHU BURRITT.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi of the Free Synagogue, New York City.

Elihu Burritt may be said to have been, in the words of Villari touching Savonarola, "one of those characters who are the true glories of the human race." Back of every interest and concern and endeavor of the life of Elihu Burritt lay his passion for humanity. He was one of the earliest and

greatest humanitarians of the nineteenth century. Nothing human was remote from him; nothing human failed to arouse the interest and to stir the soul of this "most persistent prophet of reform." He said to a friend that he read histories, books that dealt with the people. "With me to read was to think, and to think was to feel, and in time to do, so far as my limitation would permit, for people."

It is an earnest biographer of Elihu Burritt who declares that the purpose which impelled him to master a score and more of foreign tongues was not only a native love of learning, but the profound desire to discover the essential unity of language and their inner relationships. He ever sought for unity among men and things. Infinitely tolerant of difference and diversity was he, yet passionately desirous of furthering that inner unity of the race which the vision of the seer that was his own foreknew would yet come to pass among the children of men. It was his passion for humanity that moved him to cultivate the study of the tongues of many lands. He wished to speak many languages, in mastery of tongues to multiply the chains that linked him to his fellowmen of every color and speech and faith. To a neighbor he once said, "What a terrible curse that old tower of Babel was," having in mind the deep truth that the multiplicity of languages has operated as a dividing force among the peoples of the earth.

To Elihu Burritt it was given to have the vision of the future. He had a consecrated imagination; that is, he had consecration plus imagination. Alas, that so many good, earnest, consecrated men and women have no imagination, no power of visualization! On the other hand, many splendidly imaginative men and women lack the divine touch of consecration, do not use their powers to higher ends. The consecration of Elihu Burritt was quickened by imagination, and his imagination was solemnized by consecration.

He had the rare power of projecting himself into the lives of others, not of compressing the lives of others within the groove of his own being, but of putting himself in his neighbors' place, feeling their sentiments, thinking their thoughts, living their lives. It was his power of projection into the woes and oppressions and tragedies of others that enabled him to become a truly great helper of men. As we look back upon the story of his life we feel that this man's life spelt victory. He amassed no great fortune, he gained no vast fame while he lived, he achieved no power in the largest sense, and yet his life

was illumined by vision and hallowed by the consecration of his soul.

We thank God that this man was a visionary, that he dared to dream dreams. The idealist has been called the practical man with a long look ahead. Such a visionary was Elihu Burritt. He dared to look ahead, to scan the horizon of the future, and then to proclaim his vision in the undismayed accents of God's own prophet.

Elihu Burritt was a pioneer. Thus his was the first publication in America to devote space regularly to the cause of peace. The League of Universal Brotherhood was one of his noble dreams. In cherishing this ideal he reflected the spirit of Garrison and Phillips and the seers of his day. But there was something superb in the intensely practical way in which he drafted the plan for the organization of a society that should carry out the great ideal of international and universal brotherhood.

Surely this man was a seer who foretold the coming of the day when international tribunals would be erected, such as we to-day have in part in the Hague Conferences, and such as we shall have to an even fuller extent when this present day of mad militarism is passed. "He was high enough, in the providence of God, to catch earlier than the present generation the dawn of the day that he was to inaugurate." He preached the gospel of international ethics, of international courtesy, of international goodwill. His Golden Rule did not cease to be a measure, valid and binding, at the crossing of national boundaries. The great Peace Congresses of 1848 to 1851 in Brussels, Paris, Frankfort and London, were largely the fruit of his work, were his own achievement. The International Peace Congresses of our own time came fifty years and more after the realization of the conception of Burritt. If Burritt had done no more than this, namely, to present before these peace gatherings the proposal for the congress of nations, he had done that which would have placed his name among the immortals. We to-day breathe cheaply in the common air the thing he lived and strove and fought for. And even to-day, after half a century, we are barely ready to embody his dream in the deed.

If only Burritt's great plan had been effected, what sorrow and tears and agony and bloodshed might have been averted for half a century — the Franco-Prussian War, the Spanish-American War, the British-Boer War, every one of which wars might have been averted upon the basis of reason and adjudicated according to the dictates of honorable justice. One cannot

help contrasting the simple, beautiful, beneficent, blessed life of Burritt with the life of the masterful, imperial Bismarck. The time will come when Germany will do less reverence to the memory of the man of iron, who spilt blood to further imperial plans, and mowed down nations which stood in the pathway of his ruthless lust for power. Burritt was not a man of blood and iron; he was a man of love and wisdom and gentleness and mercy, and his name is blessed because he blessed the world, because he never spoke a word or thought, or wrought a deed that did not inure to the lasting good of the whole race. Burritt was "one of the great spirits with which God at rare intervals blesses the ages, with hearts so large that for them the world is their country, and every man, especially every oppressed man, is a brother."

What would Elihu Burritt say if he were living to-day touching the discussion of inferior races and the big-navy program and the strife of races? It is treason to his memory. How fitting it were that the town of New Britain, in which Elihu Burritt lived and died, should make an earnest attempt to realize his high dream of brotherhood. This cannot be achieved without effort, but the effort would be supremely worth while. If it be true that there are thirty nationalities represented in the citizenship of New Britain, what a fine experimental station in interracial and inter-religious comity your city affords. Some years ago I believe the plan was mooted to establish in the city of his birth a Brotherhood House to be known by his name. I should be recreant to the inspiration of this moment if I did not solemnly adjure you to do what in you lay to realize this noble deed. As the fruit of this centenary commemoration, let there arise in this his and your city a Burritt Brotherhood House, and let that Brotherhood House embody the inspirations and sanctities which illumined the life of him you honor. Let men, whatever tongue they speak, whencesoever they have come, learn within its walls the magic name and mystery of brotherhood. Let it be known throughout the State and the nation and the world that in the city in which Elihu Burritt lived, that in the city that he loved with the ardor of a lover, there stands a house consecrated to the name of brotherhood, wherein men are united in brotherhood's name, where men are learning to translate the ideals of democracy into daily life and deed. What was Elihu Burritt's ideal of brotherhood but democracy writ larger? Ours will not be a democracy worthy of the name unless the sovereign rule over

the land be that of a people united indivisibly in the bonds of brotherhood. Democracy is not an end to itself. It must become the means to the loftier end of brotherhood, or else it is fated to decay. The brotherhood ideal of Elihu Burritt is essentially the American ideal. It is the ideal of William Lloyd Garrison, of Wendell Phillips, and Burritt is not the least of that company of heroes brave and noble and unwearied in their advocacy of the brotherhood ideal amid a generation of scoffers and doubters. Even as in the illustration of the first issue of *The Liberator* the enslaved negro looked up and pleaded for release from the yoke of bondage in the cry, "Am I not a man and a brother?" so did Elihu Burritt, letting his prophetic vision range over the whole earth, hear all the sons of men who were in bonds pleading to him in piteous and yet manly accents, "Am I not a man and a brother?" Elihu Burritt listened, and by the noble eloquence of his life he made the world listen to this cry.

It may be that I rejoice because the homage which is paid this day at the shrine of Elihu Burritt witnesses the vindication of the ancient ideal of Israel. Israel may to-day, after three thousand checkered, tragic years, say of itself in the words of the New England poet of peace and humanity, "I have held my fealty good to the human brotherhood." Twenty-five hundred years ago the mighty prophet of Israel declared that swords should yet be beaten into ploughshares and spears into pruning hooks. This blacksmith prophet we honor to-night may be said, in an almost unique measure, to have fulfilled the ancient prophetic idea. He did not cast away the weapons of war, but upon the anvil of his high and daring hope is beat the instruments of death-dealing destruction into the hopes and ideals and passions for humanity by which his own life was consecrated, and which with inspiring courage he commended unto his generation.

The life and work of Elihu Burritt represents the upward and Godward march of man. Time was when the prophet in Israel pictured the dawn of the day of desolation in the worlds that no man should spare his brother. Rightly the seer divined that hell has no deeper deeps than the woe of a world in which man would not spare his brother. Ages later another teaching was proclaimed, purporting to be the voice of inflexible loyalty to one's country. That mischievous slogan of another day has, alas, found its heralding voices even in our time, in which we hear it anew: "My spear knows no brother."

Let us to-night look up and thank God for the life of him who helped to foresee the coming of the time when men shall forever have put behind them the possibility of no man sparing his brother or of any man's suffering his spear to know no brother, of the advent of the nobler day in which every man shall proclaim : "My brother, white or black, yellow or brown, my brother, whatever his speech or race or faith or clime — my brother shall know no spear."

Truly it may be said of Elihu Burritt that he understood, as did no other man in his time, the deepest meaning of brotherhood. In a dramatic parable recently presented upon the stage one man is pictured as asking another, "In God's name, who are you?" And the answer is given, "In God's name, your brother." If man be addressed in the name of God, it must needs be found that he is a brother. The consciousness of the fatherhood of God must precede the recognition of human brotherhood.

On the other hand, if men do not know each other and serve each other and love each other as brothers, they have no right to look up and pray "Father." Not only, as we have said, did Elihu Burritt hear the accents, "Am I not a man and a brother?" but he looked upon every man as a brother, and it is the glory of his life to have sought to lift every brother to the full stature of a man.

Center Church House, Wednesday Morning, May 11, 1910.

REV. FLAVEL S. LUTHER, D. D., PRESIDENT OF TRINITY COLLEGE, PRESIDING.

Dean Rogers introduced President Flavel S. Luther of Trinity College as the Chairman of the meeting. The first speaker presented was Dr. T. B. Fitzpatrick of Knox College, Toronto, Canada, whose topic was "The Peace of God."

In defining and interpreting the meaning of his thesis, Dr. Fitzpatrick said:

THE PEACE OF GOD.

REV. T. B. FITZPATRICK, D. D., KNOX COLLEGE, TORONTO, CANADA.

Peace is not a manufactured article. It is a divine power. It cannot be made, or kept, by any human contrivance; by battleships or Hague Tribunals, or diplomatic ingenuities of any kind. The word which is to command peace in the human heart must be spoken by God. He alone can still the tumult of the soul, bring harmony out of its discords, make man at peace with himself and with his fellows, subdue the antagonisms of classes and constrain the nations to learn war no more.

What is the cause of war? What kindles the flame of hate? What nerves the aggressor to invasion and tyranny? What sets a man against his neighbor, nation against nation? What fills the world with unending strife? It is man's revolt against his Maker. This is that which arrays nation against nation, and creates that mutual suspicion which first multiplies armaments beyond endurance, and then at a trifle of misconception lets loose the thunder of cannon, and would incarnadine the very sea itself.

How shall God act? Strike back? That is not his way! He will not have caused war to cease till he has prevailed over the enmity of man. He will not have conquered till he has won the heart of man to a willing obedience, till in the human heart he has regained his throne and reign where self had usurped his place. That which alone can bring peace to man

and to the world, healing all strife, reconciling all differences, subduing all animosities, banding men together in the mutual fellowship and the common tasks of humanity, is the peace of God, accomplished for man and freely offered. God proclaims his peace through the lips and in the life of Jesus. God is in Christ reconciling the world to himself. He ventures all upon the gospel of his grace. Wars of aggression will become impossible when the pride of man is humbled before the cross, when the will of man is surrendered to the will of love which stretches thence its appealing arms.

Then, and not till then, will men love their neighbors as themselves and become rivals only in deeds of mutual helpfulness. The gospel of the love of God in Christ must inspire all education in the knowledge of peace, and must guide all international counsels on behalf of peace, else the arguments will be wrongly directed and the emphasis be wrongly laid. The cure of war is as simple and as difficult as that. "God loves me," so runs the only perfect argument. "God loves me," so speaks the only perfect dynamic, "therefore I must love man as he has done with the same sacrificial spirit as that which led the Son of God to die upon the cross." When there is love, there will be peace. Peace is not a manufactured article; it is the fruit of the spirit.

When the peace of God takes possession of a man, when it becomes the passion of a community, does it take no higher form than national disarmament? Is its peculiar blessing no more than this, that it enables a nation to make more money which it may spend on churches and schools, or may only spend all on forms of self-indulgence? There might be a peace that was only shameful, because it would only mean that man cared too little for justice and equity to fight for them. There might be an ignoble security which men employed only to make provisions for the flesh, to satisfy the lusts thereof. There might even be a "virtuous materialism," as it has been called, in which men committed no crimes and aspired to no virtues and reached to no heroisms and lived in and for the world, "tame in earth's paddock as her prize." War would not be so deadly an evil as a peace which meant the death of man's spirit.

The peace of God is far removed from any such travesty. The peace of God shows men what their real enemies are; it opens to their view the battlefield where God himself is the chief combatant; it girds men for the conflict which none may shun save at peril of their lives. When the battle-smoke that

pours from rifle and cannon has drifted from the field, the real foes of humanity stand revealed; and men who are at peace with God and with their fellows spring to arms and are ready to lay down their lives for their brethren.

That is why the Bible rings with martial metaphors, why the Christian is depicted as a soldier, and his virtues are catalogued as pieces of armor, and why the great apostle of the gospel of peace declared, as he laid down his weapons and made ready for the award, "I have fought the good fight."

The cure for war, in the sense in which it is the most stupendous evil of history, is to teach man what to fight for. A peace society should so appeal to men and should so educate them that it might as well be called "The Society of Christian Warfare." In history we have known a "Holy Alliance," a league of the tyrants of Europe to suppress its liberties. Let the Society of International Peace be a Holy Alliance to defeat the ambitions of despots, to confound the follies of demagogues, to give effect to the demand for peace which is the natural instinct of all men who have emerged from barbarism.

Professor Fitzpatrick, in the course of his address, gave instances in which history has shown that war has sometimes seemed necessary; for example, in the cause of civil liberty, freedom of conscience, the protection of home and family, the relief of the oppressed. But he wished to see men at peace with each other and with God as to all these causes in order that they might be united and fight unrighteousness in high places, dishonesty in trade, the prostitution of justice and the devastating power of immorality. "These," he said, "are the real invaders, the real destroyers of our land. The guns of the Dreadnaught will not reach them. They are out of range of ought but moral force, — the coercion of public will obedient to the will of God."

Mr. Edwin Ginn of Boston was then introduced. He spoke on the International School of Peace, of which he is the founder. Mr. Ginn, among other things, said:

THE INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL OF PEACE.

EDWIN GINN, BOSTON, MASS.

The advocates of peace have always had arrayed against them many strong forces. Self-interest is a tremendous power in this world, and when we combat that things seem almost

hopeless. We must try in some way to secure its coöperation. The continuance of the present military system means contracts amounting annually to two thousand million dollars to be secured by somebody. This military system means also the employment of five million men regularly and twenty-five millions a part of the time. These men owe to this system their advancement in life. Such forces as these are almost invincible. They can tax the capital of the world for their revenue; they can advertise to an unlimited extent; their influence upon the press is tremendous.

Then we have arrayed against us the accumulations of the whole world. The natural instincts of men compel them to demand protection for property, whether it be private or belonging to the state. But we must show them the protection which now exists is most expensive to both and entirely unnecessary. It is pretty clearly demonstrated that the majority of nations do not wish to encroach upon the rights of others; that they wish only to be protected in what they have; but in their eagerness to be absolutely sure of such protection they are risking everything they would safeguard.

In the separate countries this problem of protection has been solved. The individual is compelled to apply to the courts for satisfaction in case of a difference with his neighbor. The next step for us is to apply this principle to the nations and compel them to submit their differences to the Hague Court. But, men ask, can this be done? Is there any likelihood that the nations will be willing always to arbitrate when disputes arise? Perhaps not, unless physical force is back of their demand, a force sufficient to compel obedience. But this force can be made an economic one, not a destructive one. It is not necessary that the whole world should be turned into a camp. The turbulent and the lawless constitute but a small portion of the population of the nations. What a blessing to mankind if nine-tenths of all the money that is now spent in military preparations for the defense of the nations could be directed into the proper channels for the upbuilding of the human race!

While doing everything possible for any temporary relief, I believe that education, moral and intellectual, is the real and abiding hope of the future. This education cannot go on if the funds are to be supplied by a few philanthropists. We must bring home to the people of this world the duty they owe to themselves to make possible the education of the masses to

higher ideals. We must make them feel that it is *their* work, and not somebody's else.

For years I have been at work, with a few helpers, on this problem, with little publicity, preferring to keep in the background; but when I first set forth my plans for an international school of peace they did not attract very much attention. It was not until I accompanied these plans with an offer of $50,000 a year and a substantial foundation at my death that I was able to arouse any degree of interest. Then favorable comments were received from far and near. Many people are fond of talking and expect to accomplish great results thereby; but it has been my experience that the man who couples with his plans the means for carrying them into effect is the one who makes things move. Others will at once take an interest in a cause with a practical purpose in view if it has a financial backing.

With our International Library, already well developed, and our pamphlet service, well started, I think I may assume that most of you are acquainted. And I may add that this department is a source of considerable expense, as many more books are given away than are sold.

The Bureau of Information, for gathering and distributing daily such material as will interest the press of the world in this greatest of all subjects, must have at its command from $10,000 to $20,000 a year. It ought to have spent upon it $50,000. It should have a most effective head, with several valuable assistants, men capable of writing strong articles for publication in the daily press at the crucial moment; of answering attacks adverse to peace, and of selecting just the right material for dissemination at all times and places. All sorts of special publications must be prepared for all sorts of needs.

It might be necessary to have a Press Bureau distinct from the Bureau of Information, although the two can perhaps be united. One object of this Press Bureau should be to send out travelers to communicate with the editors of the press all over the world to interest them in our project by personal conference.

Another important feature in the plan of the School is the Bureau of Economics. It will be the duty of this department to look carefully into the expense of wars, past and present, and collect the statistics necessary to inform the public of the numerous reasons rooted in profit and greed why the present military system maintains its hold upon the nations. I am convinced that personal interests, money-making interests, are very

largely responsible for keeping up these tremendous armaments and for the manufacture of cannon and small arms. The enormous contracts that the system calls for are a powerful instigator. It would be well to find out to what extent money is being used by these selfish interests in promoting military preparations, and what they have to do with the numerous articles sure to appear regularly just before these battleship appropriations are voted on by Congress. I would like to see all these things traced to their sources. The aim of this Bureau should be to ferret out and bring to light all the influences that are at work to keep up this big martial array.

In carrying forward this work we must adopt the ways and means that lead to success in any undertaking. The great achievements of man in any direction have been the result of careful, persistent effort. Large gatherings and fine speeches will not accomplish the desired ends. Take, for example, the schools in our land. We have our conventions, when large numbers of teachers are assembled; but how far would the work done at these conventions go in educating our children if the schoolhouse and the teacher were banished from the land? Yet I do not see how our peace societies could have done much more than they have with the limited amount of money at their command.

We have made little impression upon the financial world; we have made comparatively few converts among business men. The financiers largely determine war and peace, but they are too busy to attend our conventions or read our speeches. We must go to them and win them over, one by one, to our way of thinking. If we could bring to the support of the cause one thousand of the ablest financiers of the land, it would be a long step towards disarmament; and it is the business men that I have had especially in mind in laying out the work of the International School of Peace. We must show them that liberal contributions to the cause of peace will, we feel sure, materially reduce the war taxes they are now obliged to pay.

Mr. Ginn was followed by Edwin D. Mead, who has been associated with the School of Peace from the outset. "We are facing," said Mr. Mead, "the third Hague Conference. We already feel it impending. At farthest it is only five years ahead of us; and the creation of the committee to lay out its program is only three years ahead. If the Conference meets, as it should, in 1914, instead of 1915, the determining of its

program is only two years ahead. The question, therefore, as to our present problems and duties with reference to the third Conference, in view of the results of the two preceding Conferences, is a very practical question, and one of immediate concern.

"Where do we stand? What were the results of the first two Conferences? It is well here to sum them up as we ask ourselves what they demand of the nations facing to-day the third Conference."

The first half of Mr. Mead's address was a presentation of the various specific achievements of the two Hague Conferences. He continued as follows:

THE RESULTS OF THE TWO HAGUE CONFERENCES AND THE DEMANDS UPON THE THIRD CONFERENCE.

Edwin D. Mead, Director of the International School of Peace, Boston.

The general results of the Hague Conferences upon the habit and temper of the world have been even more revolutionary and beneficent than the specific results which have here been noticed. I can think of no other proof of the world's political maturity and competence, of its rationality and evolution of good manners, half so great as the decorum, mutual respect and perfect temper which marked the dealings of the two hundred and fifty-six representatives of the forty-four nations in the last Hague Conference, from beginning to end. Think of it, in the light of history,— representatives of every race, religion, language, tradition, system of government and system of law, conferring upon the most important and critical questions of international relation, with the widest differences of opinion and feeling, with all their various prejudices, with all possible scope for collision, and no one breach of self-restraint or courtesy, no breach of respect or of brotherhood, on the part of any member of that illustrious convention during the whole four months! Why, if the second Hague Conference had done nothing but simply exhibit to the world that spectacle, it would have marked an epoch. But how much more than that it taught the nations! It taught them that from now on legality and coöperation, mutual and deferential conference, instead of national selfishness, impulse or isolation, must rule the world, that the new

era of these things has come, and come to stay. This is the supreme result of the Hague Conferences. Those Conferences were sessions of the world's Constitutional Convention. "On the sky's dome, as on a bell," their action "struck the world's great hour" of unity and organization, pledging the family of nations at once a legislature and a judgment seat, and transforming the world's peace party into a world federation league, instinct and electric with confidence in "holier triumphs yet to come":

"The bridal time of Law and Love,
The gladness of the world's release.
When, war-sick, at the feet of Peace,
The hawk shall nestle with the dove!

"The golden age of Brotherhood
Unknown to other rivalries
Than of the mild humanities
And gracious interchange of good."

The League of Peace, for which Mr. Carnegie has been pleading, seems actually at hand. Even Mr. Roosevelt seems coming into line. Only the League of Peace, to be a true solvent and a real blessing, must be coextensive with honest national purpose and genuine civilization.

What demands do the great results of the Hague Conferences make upon the nations? They demand that we shall go on unto perfection. The rapid recital which I have made is no more history than program and commandment. The great evolution of international organization has been begun upon right lines, and the demand of that evolution is further evolution upon the same lines. I have spoken upon the work of the second Hague Conference towards the establishment of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, and of the fact that everything now necessary to bring that Court into existence and operation is the agreement upon the appointment of judges by two or three nations. Precisely this, as you all know, is what Secretary Knox is trying to bring about at this moment, and he has just informed the country that the response to his effort is most encouraging. It would certainly have been a satisfaction if all nations, or a majority of them, could have agreed upon some form of appointing the judges for this Court. They did not agree, and, happily, an agreement between two or three of them was all that was absolutely necessary to inaugurate the Court. The thought of so extending the jurisdiction of the judges of the International Prize Court as should practically transform that into a Court of Arbitral Justice or Supreme

Court of the World was probably a fortunate thought. At any rate, it offered a solution of a difficult problem, and the first demand upon us at this moment is to back up that effort until it succeeds. I believe it will quickly succeed, and when the Court is once established I am quite willing to trust to the various forces of international evolution to make of it all that it ought to be. I am proud and grateful as an American that our own nation has played the leading part in the birth of this institution. Its birth is in obedience to the principle which Secretary Root has iterated and reiterated, that the thing chiefly desired in procedure at The Hague is to minimize the diplomatic side of things and magnify the really judicial side. Secretary Knox took up this matter where Secretary Root left it; and to them, and to Mr. Choate and Dr. Scott, our obligations and the world's in this matter are preëminent. The third Hague Conference will undoubtedly make great advances as to the constitution and procedure of this Court, and as to much touching arbitration altogether. Consider the immense significance in possible contingencies of the single provision by the second Conference that either of two disputing nations, without agreement with its opponent, may of its own initiative report its willingness to arbitrate to the International Bureau, which shall then inform all the powers, leaving them to perform their duty in the matter. I look for further provisions of this character, and it is for us to demand such provisions, until international law touching the beginning of war is as rational and as effective as Canadian law touching the beginning of strikes and lockouts. When nations once realize that they are amenable to public opinion, when they are compelled to pay a decent respect to the opinions of mankind by proper publicity and proper delays, the end of war will be in sight, for no man living can remember a war whose inauguration would have been able to abide the world's critical discussion. Consider simply England's recent war in South Africa or our own in the Philippines. Such a war even as the Franco-German War in 1870 would have been impossible if both France and Prussia had been compelled to submit to the world full statements of the grounds of their proposed conflict, and wait a proper period for the world's review and judgment.

The second Hague Conference recognized unanimously the principle of obligatory arbitration; and it may well be that the third Conference will work out some formula for a general treaty which, while much broader in scope than the treaty

proposed at the second Conference, shall still command universal assent. Whether so or not, a cardinal demand upon us all, as we face the third Conference and the establishment of the new International Court, is to work for arbitration treaties of broader scope, unlimited treaties, providing that every difference whatever between nations not settled by diplomatic negotiation shall be referred to The Hague. The reservation from arbitration in most treaties in these late years of questions of so-called "honor" and "vital interest" is a mischievous reservation. National integrity, in the nature of the case, is not a subject for arbitration; but there is no possible question covered by these foolish reservations which would not be better arbitrated than fought about,— and there has been no kind of question which has not been successfully arbitrated. It is not necessary to go beyond the survey of our own arbitrations, involving the most important boundary disputes and all the momentous questions of "honor" and "vital interest" in the Alabama case. The foolish reservations serve only as pegs upon which the apologists for big armaments can hang their pleas, and thus perpetuate suspicion and trouble. President Taft never did a greater service than when in New York a few weeks ago he condemned the reservation from arbitration of so-called questions of honor. There is no honor so great between nations or between men as that of referring their disputes to impartial third parties rather than fight about them. As concerns ourselves, it chances that treaties referring everything to arbitration without reserve were unanimously indorsed by the great Arbitration Conference at Washington in 1904, under the presidency of Hon. John W. Foster, the resolutions to this effect having been drawn by a committee of which Hon. George Gray was the chairman. It accuses us that we have let this matter drop. Let us now revive it, and keep agitating it until we have treaties of the right sort referring all differences to a court of the right sort. I am glad to report in this New England Congress that a resolution urging action to this end has just been passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts, which has so frequently in the past adopted resolutions prophetic of provisions to which the larger world has come later.

Two other principles were indorsed in resolutions passed by the Massachusetts Legislature at its present session, which should be regarded as demands upon the attention of the third Hague Conference. One condemns all wars of conquest, as Brazil now condemns and forbids such wars in her constitution,

and as the recent Berlin treaty between the nations bordering on the North Sea condemns them by implication. This Massachusetts resolution, urging our government to unite with other governments in action upon the matter, has already found strong indorsement in many other States. The third Hague Conference should write this prohibition into international law. It should also take some large action along the lines of our other Massachusetts resolution, looking to the positive provision by the nations, at cost, for mutual activities promoting good understanding and coöperation. It is high time we heard more of "peace budgets," and not simply of "war budgets." When the nations once realize that it is cheaper and more efficacious to spend money in preparing for peace than in preparing for war, this will rapidly become at once a safer and more respectable world; and the right time for decisive agitation to that end is the time between now and the third Hague Conference.

The two most trying problems that the third Hague Conference will confront are those of the inviolability of ocean commerce in war and the limitation of armaments. Somehow the Conference must deal with these problems. It is because the man in the street believes that the first two Conferences shirked their duty concerning the latter problem that he has called those Conferences failures; for to the common people the one great problem is the awful problem of the monstrous armaments which impose such intolerable burdens upon the people and fill the world with danger and alarm. The plain man pays little heed to our eloquence about arbitration treaties and arbitration courts so long as the governments go on increasing the terrible machinery of war vastly faster than they increase the machinery of justice; for he says that, if they obeyed their own logic and the spirit of the Hague conventions, to which they have made themselves parties, the decrease of the machinery of force should keep even pace with the increase of the machinery of law. With whatever reservations, the common people are profoundly right in this judgment; and it will be the duty of the third Hague Conference to grapple in some strong and serious way with this anomalous situation. The man in the street, the man who does not know history, was too impatient in his early demands. It was impossible that the disarmament of the nations should come before the Court of the Nations. The war system could not disappear until the law system was ready to take its place; and the nations will not fully commit themselves to the law system until by sufficiently long and successful

operation this has approved itself. The actual increase of war machinery, however, alongside the great development of law machinery, is a paradox and a crime, and the plain people are right in their feeling that it impeaches the good faith of the nations. This question is now a great moral question. The one word of real consequence in Mr. Roosevelt's recent Nobel address at Christiania was this: "Granted sincerity of purpose, the great powers of the world should find no insurmountable difficulty in reaching an agreement which would put an end to the present costly and growing extravagance of expenditure on naval armaments." This is what the plain people of the nations have long seen clearly and felt deeply, and this is the ground of their impatience. They have been in advance of most of the statesmen, and they distrust the sincerity and serious purpose of governments. The hour has struck for seriousness and resolution and action in this matter. It is, I repeat, a moral question. The arguments for the great armaments, especially for the great navies, which are now vastly more a danger than a defense, are not respectable arguments. We need not bother ourselves here about other people. We have only to pass judgment upon the pleas and apologies for our own inordinate navy from some of our own Congressmen and other officials. It would surely be hard to conceive of anything worse than the jingoism and hucksterism of the recent speech of our Secretary of the Navy at Philadelphia, urging a bigger navy to prevent our being "trodden upon" by other nations, and to make more business for the Steel Trust!

The recent and almost chronic strain between Great Britain and Germany, insane in many respects as it is, is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the foolish argument that the way to insure peace is to create such monstrous armaments as shall make nations afraid to attack each other. Every new German or British Dreadnaught, so far from proving a new bond of peace according to the theory, has proved a new occasion of dread and danger. The Anglo-German situation is also a conclusive argument for the inviolability of ocean commerce in war. There is no remaining usage of war so barbarous as that which violates this. So long as Germany's commerce and commercial ambition grow as they are now growing, so long will her navy grow commensurately, until menace to her merchant marine is removed by international law. This point touches not simply Germany, but every commercial nation. Nothing will do so much to reduce the navies of the world as the international

decree of the inviolability of ocean commerce in war. We are glad to remember that this has always been the American position. Germany stood for it with us at the last Hague Conference. If the next Conference solves this problem, it will render a service vastly greater than the second Conference rendered in the adoption of the Porter-Drago proposition.

Touching the larger question of the limitation of armaments, the demand of the American people upon the third Hague Conference should be the same demand which Secretary Root formulated for us upon the point as we entered the second Conference — that our effort in this direction should be persistent, and that this persistence should continue until ultimate success is attained. It is fortifying to recur, in closing, to Mr. Root, because there has not been in all the world in this time a wiser international statesman; and there has been none who has emphasized more impressively the power of public opinion. It is the growing international sentiment of mankind, he has reminded us, which will be, and already is, the great sanction of international law itself; and at the New York Peace Congress of three years ago he called upon all such bodies as ours to do their utmost for the creation of that energetic moral sentiment which is at at once the highest inspiration and the strongest support of governments in their dealings with world affairs. It is with the creation of strong and enlightened public opinion that men and women like ourselves have to do. That is what we are for. That is what this Congress is for.

As we approach the third Hague Conference, let us understand clearly the problems which the second Conference left to it and to us. Let us formulate clearly to ourselves the things which the third Conference ought to do. Let us remember that two years before that Conference meets the committee will meet to determine its program, and that therefore there is no time to be lost. Let us insist upon such an organization of the third Conference, in contrast to the organization of the first two Conferences, as shall make it indeed a free and independent Conference. For my own part, I should say, let us insist that the Conference meet not later than 1914. An interval of seven years between these Parliaments of Man is, as our critical and crowded history now makes itself, an interval quite long enough; and the accident of a year's waste of time in 1906 should not be allowed to determine the interval in the present case. The United States delegation, in the spirit of Secretary Root's instructions, suggested to the second Conference the month of

June, 1914, as the date of the meeting of the third Conference; and that is the proper time for it. But, however these things are settled, let the peace party of America be alive. Let it remember that William Ladd and Elihu Burritt, half a century and more before the first Hague Conference, stood clearly and persistently for every cardinal feature of the Hague program, and be inspired by those sacred memories to as prophetic service to-day as theirs of yesterday. Let it remember that the peace movement, as your great Bushnell here in Hartford so impressively pointed out in his prophetic essay on "The Growth of Law," is simply the extension of law beyond the confines of the nation, the largest unit yet fully organized, to the family of nations; and that our own federal republic, our United States, offers in its own beneficent national institutions the most impressive and potent prototype of a united world. This beneficent federation, this eloquent inheritance, are a high imperative and holy call. Let us realize America's great duty and great power; and let us so exert ourselves in the years just before us as to make America's influence in the third Hague Conference worthy of her own great traditions and a blessing to mankind.

Rev. Walter Walsh of Dundee, Scotland, author of "The Moral Damage of War," vigorous opponent of militarism, now almost as familiar to American peace audiences as to those of Great Britain, was the last speaker. He took for his subject Norman Angell's book, "Europe's Optical Illusion," the argument of which he summarized as follows:

"EUROPE'S OPTICAL ILLUSION."

Rev. Walter Walsh, Gilfillan Memorial Church, Dundee, Scotland.

That masterly analyst, John Ruskin, in "Unto This Last," declared business to be essentially restless, and probably contentious, having a raven-like mind as to the carrion food. The great English economist, Richard Cobden, in his pamphlet "England," asserted that the defense of her commerce was the argument which had decided Great Britain to undertake almost every war in which she had ever been involved.

An English speculator, Cecil Rhodes, affirmed that modern wars were not now waged for the amusement of royal families, but for practical business; while a British Chancellor of the

Exchequer bluntly confessed that the real object of naval and military expenditure was to push and promote British trade throughout the world. The argument, "Be my subject or I will kill you," has changed to "Be my customer or I will kill you." Thus have Napoleon's nation of shopkeepers blossomed out into a nation of soldiers. The air is full of rumors of commercial war between Great Britain and Germany — war for the sake of trade — justifying the jibe of Robert Browning:

> "Once you warred
> For liberty against the world, and won:
> There was the glory. Now you fain would war
> Because the neighbor prospers overmuch."

To what extent the wealth of nations was ever on the striking of a just balance promoted by war is an inquiry I will not on this occasion pursue. The proposition we are now called upon to study is, that the course of political and commercial evolution has rendered war for the sake of trade useless and ineffective even for the very object it set out to secure; that the conditions of modern commerce render it impossible for one nation to capture the commerce of another; that a victorious nation must endure all the cost and impoverishment of war, without that compensating enrichment which formerly was supposed to accrue to the victor. This is the astounding proposition stated and defended in a book recently published, entitled "Europe's Optical Illusion," which ought without delay to find its way into every chamber of commerce and every merchant's office in the world.

The commercial and political outlook of Europe will undergo a transformation so soon as it is understood that the possession of military power does not insure industrial and commercial success; that such success is independent of such power, emerging from quite other conditions; and that consequently neither Germany nor Great Britain could expect to reap financial profit from even victorious war.

It is understood that the author of this challenging work is himself a journalist, and we may therefore without offense quote his opinion of journalists as well as statesmen who emit a superstitious jargon as obsolete as expositions of astrology and witchcraft belated far behind the march of events, and that the time has come to challenge their wornout axiom, that military conquest increases the power and prosperity of the conqueror at the cost of the vanquished, and to demonstrate, on the contrary, that military force is an economic futility. That

the industrial wealth of a vanquished people passes over to the victor is a grotesque fallacy, comparable to the theory of cannibal warriors, that the strength and courage of the fallen foe passed into the triumphant savage who ate him.

In early times, when wealth consisted of gold and silver cups, jewels and slaves, it was possible for a conqueror to carry off booty; but now that wealth consists for the most part of foreign investments and paper securities, marauding excursions, even on the grand national scale, are as profitless as would be the raids of a Dick Turpin upon travelers carrying check books. By post, telegraph, telephone, the banks of London, Paris, Berlin and New York are made financially interdependent in the same way as those of Edinburgh and Birmingham or Boston and Philadelphia; so that, if Mr. Frederick Harrison's nightmare were to be realized by Germany's looting the bank of England, Berlin would be unable to collect her debts in London, and would be impoverished to the extent of those debts. She would find she had destroyed not a rival, but a customer. She would have plunged herself into financial chaos, with resulting commercial bankruptcy and industrial dislocation. It is impossible to exact tribute or indemnity without producing similar results; impossible is it also to capture the rival's external or carrying trade. Annexation of territory, even when politically possible, is discovered to be financially unprofitable. In every case the boomerang flies back upon the thrower. It is improbable that the dream of Pan-Germanism fully realized would make richer a single German creature. That great Scotch economist, Adam Smith, was the first to point out that the states of Europe might naturally form a set of closely related fiscal units, but he could not foresee that financial interdependence and financial solidarity which are increasing at the expense of commercial and industrial competition, which is making war too risky, and which was probably the moving cause of the Algeciras understanding, and prevented hostilities between Germany and France over the Morocco affair.

It is now abundantly evident that trade does not follow the flag. But more; neither does tariff bargaining follow the big navy or the conscript army. Canadian orders go to France, Germany, Belgium more than to Great Britain. Unarmed Switzerland wages successful tariff war against the German nation in arms. The small European states have larger *per capita* trade than their militarized neighbors. If we take securities as the test, we find that the investments of unprotected Holland and Sweden

are ten per cent. to twenty per cent. safer than those of the greatest powers. The financier finds investments safer in the unprotected countries. What now becomes of the foolish talk about our vast military and naval expenditures being a form of "insurance"? It now appears that the less military protection a country has, the safer are its securities, and that, on the contrary, the more be its bayonets, ironclads and warriors, the shakier become its invested securities. Britain's latest annexation shall be our crowning proof. At a cost of more than two hundred and fifty million pounds Great Britain annexed the territory now known as the United States of South Africa, with the only result that she has hung another millstone about her neck and is sinking into the sea of revolution. So powerless have her military triumphs left her in the fields of industrialism and politics, that she has grasped not one of these material gains traditionally supposed to be the portion of a conqueror, and has consented to distasteful terms of South African independence dictated in London by the very Boer generals who a few years ago were opposing her on the field of battle.

From this masterly argument some deductions may be made, such as that certain lines of trade, holders of bonds or capitalistic syndicates stand to gain by particular wars, spite of the general impoverishment thus created; and that these are the very powers that control newspapers, dominate politicians, and are frequently able to persuade a people that a particular war will be to the general advantage. Further, though it is a gain to have the self-interested motives cleverly exploited in the interest of peace, it must never be forgotten that the prudential motives are the feeblest, and have never by themselves produced great world movements. Hence the reasoning of "Europe's Optical Illusion" leaves one enormous breach in the dyke which holds back the red tides of human slaughter. It leaves untouched the sentimental motive, namely, national vanity, honor, prestige, pride, ambition, race-prejudice, desire for mastery, and what Mr. Spencer Wilkinson, the author of "Britain at Bay," calls the "leadership of the human race."

Mr. Walsh from this point on discussed at length, and with his usual moral ardor, these various motives.

Continuing with reference to commerce and war, he said:

International commerce is evolving an international conscience. Humanity has but one interest, because it has but

one soul. The fraternal spirit in the exchange of commodities is driving back the barbarous spirit in exchange of blows. The destroying demon, the soldier, is giving place to the ministering angel, the merchant.

Your merchant represents a high type of service, of ministry; he stands for production, distribution, exchange of arts, comforts, utilities of life; he represents agriculture, the fertilizing and adornment of the earth; by him the lone sea is populous with ships carrying wool and corn, timber and spices, travelers, immigrants and missionaries, pictures and books; thoughts, ideas, religions, gospels, civilizations by him pass to and fro redeeming the earth into an Eden for man, and man into an Eden dweller for the earth.

Commercial internationalism is at last closing the Pandora's box of plagues and curses which have afflicted the peoples of the earth, and is opening a cornucopia of fruits, flowers, products, all of love's labor, which therefore is not love's labor lost; so that presently shall be realized the vision of the millennial poet, who sang that the wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them, and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Center Church, Wednesday Afternoon, May 11, 1910.

JUDGE ROBERT F. RAYMOND, BOSTON, PRESIDING.

The last afternoon of the Congress was divided among three leading interests. These were the unfinished business of the Congress, including the passing of resolutions, a teacher's meeting, and the annual meeting of the American Peace Society.

The Committee on Resolutions consisted of Dr. Flavel S. Luther, chairman; Benjamin F. Trueblood, Secretary of the American Peace Society; Arthur Deerin Call, President of the Connecticut Peace Society; Edwin D. Mead, Director of the International School of Peace; Bradford P. Raymond, President of Wesleyan University; Rev. Dr. Rockwell Harmon Potter of Hartford; Rt. Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster, Bishop of Connecticut; George H. Utter, ex-Governor of Rhode Island; John M. Thomas, President of Middlebury College, Vermont.

It reported the following platform of resolutions, which was unanimously adopted:

PLATFORM OF THE NEW ENGLAND PEACE CONGRESS.

The New England Arbitration and Peace Congress, meeting May 8 to 11, 1910, in Hartford and New Britain, Conn., the old homes of Horace Bushnell and Elihu Burritt, and of a generation illustrious in the early history of the peace movement in America, reverently records its profound obligations to the great leaders of the past and its appreciation of their clear and prophetic grasp of the principles upon which the movement for international justice and world organization advances with such breadth and power to-day. It is in the pioneering international work of men like these, men like Worcester and Channing and Ladd and Sumner, that New England has made one of her noblest contributions to mankind. In his strong and persistent demands, in the great international peace congresses sixty years ago, for an official congress of nations to define and develop international law and create an international court to interpret and apply it, Burritt formulated the cardinal features of the Hague programs of our time. In his definition of the peace movement as the growth of law, the extension to the family of nations of those institutions which have secured unity and order to individual states and national federations, Bushnell anticipated the central and controlling purpose of the world's present peace party.

The most signal and impressive fact in the world's life at this hour is the rapid development of a world constitution to meet the imperative needs of a new time. In the Hague Conferences we see the beginnings of an international legislature. In the Hague Arbitration Tribunal, the International Prize Court and the Court of Arbitral Justice, we see a world judiciary. In the Universal Postal Union, the International Institute of Agriculture and other bureaus, we see the evolution of the world's executive machinery.

As we approach the third Hague Conference, we call upon the peace party and the patriotic citizenship of America for renewed and more definite endeavor in behalf of this inspiring progress, and express our high and grateful appreciation of what our own statesmen have done in its behalf. Recognizing the fact that the system of war can only be supplanted by a perfected system of law, we call especially for earnest support of the efforts of Secretary Knox to secure the establishment of the Court of Arbitral Justice. We call for such broadening of the scope of all treaties of arbitration as shall provide for reference to The Hague of all differences whatever not settled by diplomacy, and express our sense of the great service rendered by President Taft in his recent condemnation of the mischievous reservation from arbitration, in most treaties, of so-called questions of honor.

The clear logic of the Hague conventions prescribes to the nations parties to them the steady decrease of the machinery of war corresponding to the steady and now so great increase of the machinery of international justice. The present appalling rivalry in the navies of the nations, with the intolerable burdens of taxation which they impose, demands, as the last Hague Conference so solemnly reminded us, the urgent attention of the nations. We register our gratitude to Mr. Roosevelt for his recent conspicuous declaration that with sincerity of purpose the great powers could surely reach some agreement which would put an end to the present extravagance in naval armaments; and with equal gratitude we recall Mr. Root's strong demand upon the eve of the second Hague Conference that we should persist in earnest effort for the limitation of armaments until the effort succeeds. It is for the effective dealing with this urgent demand by the third Hague Conference that the world waits.

Recalling the fact that it was to the action of the Interparliamentary Union at its meeting in the United States in 1904 that the initiative to the second Hague Conference was due, we earnestly indorse the proposition made by Hon. Richard Bartholdt, chairman of the American Group of the Interparliamentary Union, in his resolutions recently submitted to Congress, that our government create a commission of the highest character to consider the most important means of

advancing the coöperation of the nations toward international organization, in order that our recommendations to the nations and to the third Hague Conference may be well considered and far-reaching.

We express our deep sympathy with the people of Great Britain in the great loss sustained by them and by the world in the death of King Edward VII. His wise and beneficent reign has won the honor of mankind; but its greatest glory has been in that patient and fruitful policy of international friendship which has justly earned for him as his proudest title that of Edward the Peacemaker.

Recognizing in public education and enlightenment the permanent guarantee of peace and justice, we express our deep satisfaction in the strong growth in this time of movements for the education of our people, and especially our youth, in the principles of our commanding cause. We greet with gratitude and high hope the founding of the International School of Peace, the American School Peace League, the Intercollegiate Peace Association and the Cosmopolitan Clubs, and the larger devotion to the cause on the part of women's clubs and business and workingmen's organizations. To all of these, as ever to the church, the press, the public library and every agency for the creation of public opinion, we appeal for constant and earnest coöperation.

The Congress also passed the following resolution on motion of Mr. Mead:

Resolved: That this Congress earnestly endorses the resolution recently introduced in Congress by Senator Lodge in behalf of the careful preparation by the Department of Commerce and Labor and the National Bureau of Statistics, of statistics covering the cost and damage of wars in this and other countries since 1776.

On motion of Dr. Trueblood, the Congress passed the following resolution in regard to Peace Sunday:

Resolved: That the New England Arbitration and Peace Congress expresses its hearty approval of the action of the Federal Council of the Churches, taken at Philadelphia in 1908, in recommending to the churches in the United States the observance of the third Sunday in December as Peace Sunday, and this Congress hopes that the churches throughout New England will observe the day as has been recommended.

It was voted to send a cablegram of sympathy to the Queen Dowager of Great Britain, prepared and signed by Dean Henry Wade Rogers as president of the Congress and Rev. W. Rodney Roundy as secretary. The telegram read as follows:

"New England Peace Congress in session, in common with friends of international peace throughout the world, deplores the death of Edward VII, Peace maker, and expresses warmest sympathy with you personally."

President Rogers was also instructed to send a telegram of appreciation to Hon. Robert Treat Paine, President of the American Peace Society, Boston. This message read:

"New England Peace Congress, in session at Hartford, sends cordial greetings and sympathies and expression of high appreciation of your long and fruitful service to the cause of international amity and peace."

A letter of cordial sympathy was read from Governor Eben S. Draper of Massachusetts. Secretary of War Hon. Jacob M. Dickinson wrote the Congress expressing his belief that, in

spite of the great armaments which now oppress the nations with heavy expenses, the cause of arbitration and peaceful settlements is steadily gaining ground.

At this point Judge Robert F. Raymond of the Massachusetts Superior Court succeeded Dean Rogers as president of this meeting of the Congress. On taking the chair he made some instructive and hopeful remarks on the progress of equity in the dealings of men and nations with each other.

Judge Raymond introduced Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, ex-Chief Justice of Connecticut, who read a paper on "International Law as a Factor in the Establishment of Peace." This paper follows :

INTERNATIONAL LAW AS A FACTOR IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PEACE.

Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.

Many things in this day make for peace between nations. Of one of these I have been asked to speak, — international law.

In its early beginnings international law was mainly concerned with what pertained to war and its consequences. International intercourse in time of peace was infrequent. There were no permanent legations maintained at the various capitals until the seventeenth century. The minister from one state to another was a great officer, sent with a special commission and authority to transact some special business, and then to return to his own country. He was — and the designation of earlier days still lingers in use — an envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary.

The establishment of permanent legations conduced to the formulation in terms of certain general usages as to the manner of conducting diplomatic intercourse and regulating international relations in time of peace. Especially did it tend to build up a law with respect to claims against government by citizens of foreign governments, and to controversies between the subjects of different governments, in which justice might be sought through actions brought in court.

From this time on international law became divided into two parts, sometimes clearly and sometimes vaguely ; one named Public International Law and the other Private International Law.

Private International Law has to do with what interests everybody, at all times and all places. It settles the rights of foreigners and our duties to them; the rights growing out of foreign transactions; things which concern men's pockets; the affairs of every day, in the normal condition of foreign relations, that is, peace. It is mainly a law for peace and of peace. Originally, when it began to take form, it was little but the expression of the opinion of particular courts or jurists as to what system of law should be the one to which to resort, in case of doubt, for determining a question involving private rights of foreigners or private rights growing out of foreign transactions.

Suppose, for instance, that an American, traveling abroad, makes a will in Paris. Is its validity to be determined by asking whether it conforms to French law or to American law? An Italian comes over here, lays up $1000 in a few years, and dies, leaving no will. Is his estate to be settled according to Italian law or American law? Private International Law must answer and does answer these questions.

You will observe that its office is to choose between the laws of different sovereigns which to apply to a particular transaction. The test naturally is: Which is it the juster to apply? Justice is the criterion. It is not important which of the two countries is the more powerful. It is seldom material which of the systems of law is the better one. All nations are equal in sovereignty, and it is for each to regulate as it pleases the legal relations of its subjects to each other, and to a large extent the acts and interests of foreigners who choose to enter its territory.

But no nation can be fully a law unto itself in regard to its treatment of matters concerning international relations. If it deals harshly with foreigners, their country will complain. Readers of Carlyle's "Frederick the Great" will not forget what was wrought by the cry of "Jenkins' Ear."

During the last quarter of a century Private International Law has begun to build on new foundations. In 1888 and 1889 a congress of most of the Central American and South American powers was held at Montevideo, especially convened to agree on some general and, if possible, continental system of that branch of jurisprudence. The only absentees were Colombia, Ecuador and Venezuela. Eight treaties or "conventions" were framed on as many different subjects, and all together constitute what is almost a code of this branch of

international law. All nations were invited to become parties to these conventions; and Spain, in 1893, signified its approval by the crown, though, for want of subsequent ratification by the legislative department, this overture finally came to nothing. All the conventions of Montevideo have been approved by parliamentary action in Uruguay, Peru, Paraguay, Argentina, Ecuador and Bolivia, and several of them have received like sanction by the remaining powers.

While South America was thus occupied in devising a uniform system of Private International Law, Europe followed her example. Everybody is aware of the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 for the advancement of Public International Law. Many may not know that four other Conferences have been held there, in 1893, 1894, 1900 and 1904, for the advancement of Private International Law. The powers represented were Holland, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Italy, Luxemburg, Portugal, Roumania, Russia, Switzerland, Sweden and Norway. No English-speaking country took part in them. No representation from Asia or Africa was invited; but Japan appeared at the last Conference, on her own motion, and was cordially welcomed.

By these four Hague Conferences conventions have been framed on the celebration and effects of marriage, divorce, guardianship, successions to the estates of deceased persons, bankruptcy and civil procedure in courts. Each was to run for five years. Several have been fully ratified and are now in effect between most of the powers of Continental Europe. That on civil procedure in cases of an international character went into operation in 1899 between all Europe. It was renewed for five years under one of its own self-executing provisions in 1904, and has received certain additions by the action of the last of the conferences, ratified by every power.

I have given so much time to the statement of these facts because they show so convincingly how, on both the great continents, international law is becoming settled by voluntary agreements on the part of the leading powers, and settled on those very points which, affecting as they do personal and pecuniary interests, are a natural cause, if unsettled or unfairly settled, of international irritation and unfriendliness.

In 1860, when President Woolsey of Yale published his treatise on "International Law," he defined it as being "the aggregate of the rules which Christian states acknowledge as obligatory in their relations to each other and to each others'

subjects," adding that it did not cover the law governing Christian states in "their intercourse with savage or half-civilized tribes or even with nations on a higher level but lying outside of their forms of civilization."

No publicist would now draw a line between Christian and non-Christian nations. Four Asiatic non-Christian nations besides Turkey attended the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. Japan was welcomed to that of 1904 on unquestioned terms of full equality. Both in respect to public and to private international law, the Christian and non-Christian nations are working together.

The Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907 have codified the laws of war on land and sea for the whole world even more fully than the rules of private international law have yet been codified. By settling points which before were doubtful, much has been done in both directions to remove occasions of international controversy and also to quiet such controversies should they nevertheless arise.

The permanent neutralization of a country creates a *status* which modern international law is disposed to recognize, every instance of which adds a new illustration of the prosperity which peace brings with it. These neutralizations, in an effective form, are chiefly the work of the last hundred years. Switzerland, Belgium, Luxemburg, the Ionian Islands, the Congo Free State, — these dot the globe with living illustrations of what peace is. A neutralized country needs no great military or naval force, no costly fortifications,— and has none. It is spared all taxation for such objects. If war breaks out between its neighbors, its own interests are still protected, and protected by solemn engagements that international law holds stronger than armies. If neutralization of one country can be secured by the guarantees of a few great powers, which the lesser ones must respect because the collective force behind them is so imposing, one cannot fail to see that should, in the advance of international law, all the powers of the world guarantee the territorial integrity of each, it would in effect be simply to extend the scope of the neutralization policy — a policy which a hundred years has proved to be one of solid value as a safeguard against war.*

* In all that period but one flagrant violation of the principle of permanent neutralization has occurred. The republic of Cracow, given this quality in 1815 by the Congress of Vienna, and placed under the special protection of Russia, Austria and Prussia, was nevertheless annexed to Austria, after a fruitless resistance, in 1846; and although France and England protested, they did not intervene with force. It is not too much to say that in the present condition of international morals and international law such an occurrence would be practically impossible.

An interesting study of the possibilities in this direction, by a Canadian lawyer, Mr. Jerome Internoscia of Montreal, has recently been published. He proposes a conference of all nations to agree on a common code, which to some extent shall lay down both a national law for each and an international law for all. It is, among other things, to abolish war; but this end he would achieve by the creation of a court of all nations, having some legislative and supreme judicial powers, whose judgments each nation shall be compelled to respect, because if it does not they will be enforced by the strong hand; in short by war, leading after conquest to the extinction of the offending power, by selling off its territory to the highest bidder.

This rather fantastic project may serve to make more plain the natural influences which, under the principle of evolution, are slowly making themselves felt in gradual yet successive advances towards the same goal. Every new instance of neutralization, achieved by the intervention of a few great powers, helps to familiarize the world with the nature of the process, and to make clear the facility with which it can be extended. What five powers can guarantee with assurance, ten or twenty or forty can guarantee with greater assurance, and in all probability from motives more unselfish, and therefore more likely to be viewed with general respect.

Every new rule of international law laid down by a congress of many nations, called to deliberate on a few subjects, such as those held during the last twenty years at The Hague, helps also to familiarize the world with the power of such a congress, called to act on a wider range of subjects, to lay down rules on any matter and all matters of a universal character.

In introducing his draft code of international law, Mr. Internoscia well says that quarrels and petty controversies between nations come generally from the violation, real or apparent, of some private right, and that more than half the cases of violations of private right have their origin in the administration of justice towards foreigners.

The extensions of Private International Law made by the successive Hague Conferences, for Europe, indicate what may be accomplished in the same direction, by similar agencies, for the rest of the civilized world.

Every new rule of international law, plainly stated by recognized authority, in proportion to the extent of its acceptance, diminishes opportunities for misunderstandings and differences, which else might lead to unfriendliness between nations, and

perhaps to war. It directs attention, also, to the nature of the authority by which the rule is promulgated, and in a way that strengthens that authority. It is seen not only that many nations, acting together, have an authority that belongs to none of them alone, and therefore is above that commonly attributed to national sovereignty, but that they have a right to that authority, demonstrated by the beneficence of the result, and accentuated by the absence of any display of the outward and visible signs of authority. War seems pushed into the background. Its domain is narrowed. Something better comes to replace it as the governing force in international relations.

International law, like every other doctrine of man, has two sides, that of theory and that of practice. Rights are worth little unless they can be enforced by courts. Courts are worth little unless they proceed by settled rules, fairly conceived and fairly followed.

During the past twenty years great advances have been made towards assimilating the rules of judicial practice on certain subjects throughout the world. I have already alluded to the convention framed by the Hague Conference to promote Private International Law, on international civil procedure, now adopted by substantially all Continental Europe. It covers but a few points, but those are of considerable importance for the convenience of suitors.

Last fall a diplomatic conference of twenty-three nations was held at Brussels to try to devise international rules, both of right and of civil procedure, in controversies growing out of commerce by sea. The United States were parties to this conference, with five other American powers. Asia sent Japan, and all the great powers were represented. Conventions were framed respecting collisions, and salvage claims, and projects of two other conventions, on limiting the liabilities of shipowners, and on maritime liens.

Should these conventions and projects be finally ratified by the governments concerned, as is not improbable, they would go far towards establishing a common code of maritime law and admiralty practice in civil causes for the whole world. It is obvious how much this would tend to remove occasions of international dispute. Universal law, universally executed by the same rules of procedure, throws open the gates of peace for every field over which its domain is recognized. If the world begins by unifying its law for maritime transactions, it

can proceed with some assurance to the task of unifying its law for transactions unconnected with the seas.

In its main outlines the law of the sea has been substantially one for all nations since the Middle Ages, and it has been administered by courts of admiralty in a manner substantially the same. It has been thus easier to devise plans, such as those of the Brussels Conference, for still more exact uniformity. Nevertheless, it is a great advance to have what has grown up without any formal international agreement confirmed and extended by such agreements. It is a step which, once taken, is not likely to be retraced.

Formal conferences of nations, like those of Montevideo and The Hague and Brussels, make for peace, not only by removing occasions of difference in the disposition of international questions, but by habituating the powers concerned to conditions which belong to peace and are disturbed by war. A congress called together to formulate a doctrine of law confirms the respect which good citizens pay to law, and strengthens the feeling that in the regulation of international relations law is the permanent force and war an anomaly.

The more civilized a country is, the less ought to be, and generally is, the display of military force on the part of the government. There will be compliance with the rules of conduct which it prescribes, because they are the law of the land, and it is the general feeling that it is the duty of good citizens to obey the law. A moral sentiment is behind it, and sentiment rules every people.

So it is coming to be, in the twentieth century, between nations. They are governed by international law. In proportion to their civilization, they respect its authority. Each power, in recognizing its rules, consents to them; and where there is consent force is unnecessary.

International law is the legal expression in set terms of the public opinion of the civilized world as to certain points. Each new point thus given form is a step away from the field of war. It is thus that international law is becoming, with every passing year, a larger factor towards the keeping unbroken of the peace of the world.

The annual meeting of the American Peace Society was opened with an address by its first Vice-President, Hon. John W. Foster of Washington, ex-Secretary of State, who, in the absence of Hon. Robert Treat Paine, acted as chairman.

Mr. Foster's address, "War Not Inevitable," was illustrated by incidents taken from the history of the United States. It read:

WAR NOT INEVITABLE.

Hon. John W. Foster, ex-Secretary of State.

I have been asked to speak on the topic, "War Not Inevitable," and to illustrate it from the history of our own country.

At the very threshold of the consideration of such a subject the question presents itself: Is it reasonable to expect peace among the nations of the earth, and is it practicable to maintain such peace? I fear that the prevailing answer to these questions would be in the negative. Among even the most enlightened and Christian nations is there not a predominant sentiment that war is not only inevitable, but that sometimes it is necessary?

The substitute for or preventive of war, arbitration, is held to be merely a method of adjusting minor international differences, and it is contended that political questions involving national policy, honor or territory, should not be relegated to a tribunal however exalted, but that in the extreme resort they must be determined by the arbitrament or war.

Besides, there are many who claim that war is not an unmixed evil; that it stimulates patriotism; that it makes men more virile; that it reduces redundant population; that it is a healthy stimulus among nations; that decay and disintegration are the fate of nations which do not maintain a state of preparedness for war.

Writers of the history of nations, the chroniclers of wars, and most statesmen are inclined to take one or more of the foregoing pessimistic views of the relations of states to each other. An Englishman, one of the most intelligent writers on questions of the Far East, the recent storm center of war, in a late work on "The Coming Struggle in Eastern Asia," uses this language: "The sterilization begotten of a long peace is as much the Nemesis of a nation as the vainglory of a Napoleon who threw himself to the other extreme. Moderation in war and moderation in peace is the line along which the successful nation must necessarily progress. It is impossible to conceive of a world presided over by international lawgivers, such as is the strange ideal of some. To succeed in realizing such dreams it would first be necessary to emasculate mankind. War is necessary to mankind. All history shows it to be inevitable.'"

A Senator of the United States, one of the most prominent and influential members of that high legislative body, was recently approached with a view to securing his coöperation in a movement for the establishment of a permanent international tribunal of arbitral justice, such as was proposed at the last Hague Peace Conference. The report to me of the gentleman who conferred with the Senator is as follows: "The Senator pooh-poohed the idea of a permanent, judicial and binding court of arbitration. He said the war expenditures were trivial (except pensions, which cannot be touched), and that the United States would never agree to refer questions involving the honor or territory of this country to any court of arbitration; that the people would never tolerate such a suggestion for a moment."

Do this British author and this American statesman represent any considerable body of public sentiment among our Anglo-American peoples? If so, the friends of international peace have a serious task before them in converting the English-speaking world to a policy of peace and goodwill among the nations. Our history shows that war is popular with the masses of our people. The conduct of our legislators and public men in times of controversy with foreign governments has been largely controlled by their knowledge that the great body of the people would approve heartily a call to arms. Hence the important work before us is to seek to create a strong public sentiment hostile to war. It is apparent that at present it does not exist in our country.

Let us examine the assertions that war is inevitable and sometimes necessary. We have been accustomed to look upon the contests of past ages as inspired by the spirit of conquest or entered upon under trivial pretexts and without reason, to satisfy the whims of autocratic or ambitious rulers; but that since the nations of Europe and America have assumed the form of constitutional and representative governments they have not appealed to arms except for alleged grave reasons of state involving the honor and high interests of the countries concerned. The United States, since it attained its independence, has been in three foreign wars. These were entered upon under the constitutional requirement of an express vote of Congress. It may throw some light upon the subject we are discussing if we inquire how far these three wars were inevitable or necessary.

I premise by saying that the Revolutionary War was a revolt

from the mother country, and therefore does not fall within the category of foreign wars; and yet, if the controversy which occasioned it had arisen in the last quarter of the nineteenth century in place of the eighteenth, there would have been no necessity for it. More than fifty years ago, when there was considerable agitation in Canada for independence or annexation to the United States, the *London Times*, reflecting the sentiments of the government and people of Great Britain, used this positive language: "We have been taught wisdom by experience, and the most valuable as well as the most costly of our lessons has been taught by the barren issue of a conflict with a province which from remonstrance drifted to rebellion and crowned rebellion with independence. We should not go to war for the sterile honor of retaining a reluctant colony in subjection. We should not purchase an unwilling obedience by the outlay of treasure or blood." Should Canada to-day, resolutely and with a fair degree of unanimity, determine to set up an independent government, it would meet with no armed opposition from Great Britain.

The War of 1812, our first foreign conflict, was far from being inevitable. While it was justifiable, according to the rules of international law, the better sentiment of the country was opposed to it. The President, Mr. Madison, did all in his power to prevent it, but he was overruled by a few fiery spirits in Congress known as the "War Hawks," Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, then young men, being the leaders who played upon the sentiment of hostility at that time so fresh against England. The declaration of war was passed by Congress, after a long and heated debate, a large minority vote being cast against it. Five days after this action, but unknown in America owing to the slow means of communication, the Orders in Council were repealed, and thus the main cause of the war was removed.

The fateful decision had been made, and Mr. Clay, the leader of the war party, predicted the conquest of Canada and that we would dictate peace at Quebec or Halifax. But our armies crossed the frontier only to be driven back in defeat, and though we gained some glory on the water, the conflict was barren of results, and we made peace without settling a single question about which we entered on the contest. Never was a war more fruitless in its conclusion. It was neither inevitable nor necessary.

It is the judgment of history that our second foreign war — that with Mexico — was provoked on our part, and that it was

largely inspired by the spirit of slavery extension. Although the annexation of Texas, a revolted colony of Mexico, led to the armed contest, the immediate cause of the conflict was a disputed question of territory. Our government at the same time had a similar territorial question on our northwest coast with Great Britain even of a more heated character. The party which elected Mr. Polk to the Presidency had declared for "fifty-four forty or fight"; that is, we must contend at the hazard of war for our extreme claim against England. But just then the British had concluded a war with China, and had a strong army and a formidable navy which could be sent at once to the territory in dispute. Under such circumstances our government prudently decided to make terms with England, and surrendered our claim to more than half of the territory in dispute.

Our conduct with our weaker neighbor on the south was in marked contrast. Without waiting for the result of negotiations, President Polk, with no authority from Congress, sent an army under General Taylor to occupy the disputed territory, and thus precipitated a war which, as I have said, in the judgment of historians, almost without exception, has been pronounced not only unnecessary, but unjustifiable. A book has recently appeared which is written with a view to reverse this judgment, but it furnishes new proofs to sustain the judgment, in the declaration of President Tyler, who brought about the annexation of Texas, that "the question of boundaries was purposely left open for negotiation," which he expected would be adjusted "by pacific arrangement"; and he accused his successor of having precipitated war by advancing Taylor's troops to the Rio Grande. Although the results of the war were greatly to the advantage of the United States, that does not change the fact that it was provoked on our part, and was one of conquest and injustice.

The Civil War was domestic, not international, in its character, and hence not to be included in our present examination; but it may be remarked in passing that, though possibly the questions of the right of secession and the continued existence of slavery could not have been settled in the existing state of public sentiment except by a resort to arms, yet how much more economical it would have been to have purchased peace by paying the full value of every slave emancipated; and how many thousands of lives would have been saved, the wretched experience of reconstruction days have been avoided, and the

bitterness and hate engendered by the fearful contest never have been created.

The war with Spain possessed some of the characteristics of that of 1812 with Great Britain. The President was strongly opposed to a resort to arms and struggled for peace to the last, but the feeling in Congress and the agitation in the press called loudly for hostilities. I entertain no doubt that the Spanish government would have granted at the end of the negotiations the demand of our government for the complete colonial autonomy of Cuba and practical independence such as Canada enjoys. But the ill-timed catastrophe of the explosion of the "Maine" in the harbor of Havana seemed to cause our people to lose their reason and led the President to entrust the issue to Congress, where it was hastily decided.

The cause of the destruction of the "Maine" has not yet been accurately ascertained. The Spanish government proposed that the question be submitted to an international court of inquiry, but our government declined the proposal, preferring to rely upon the report of our own navy officials. From my acquaintance with the Spanish people I have never been able to bring myself to believe that the catastrophe was caused by Spanish officials, or with their knowledge. There has been an almost criminal neglect on our part to raise the "Maine," whose wreck lies as an unsightly obstruction in the harbor of Havana, with the festering bodies of many scores of gallant men denied a soldier's burial. From my conversation with officers of high rank in the navy, I am inclined to the belief that our delinquency in this respect is occasioned by the fear that it would be found that the destruction was caused by an internal explosion, and that the war was precipitated by an event for which the Spanish government was in no wise responsible.

The "Maine" disaster was not the declared object of the war, but the independence of Cuba; and diplomacy to that end had not exhausted its resources when Congress took action. President Taft has recently declared it to have been an altruistic war. That is true, but how far one nation is justified in imposing upon another through its army and navy its idea of political morality and government is an open question. Our experience with Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines in the last ten years has presented to us in a new light some of the embarrassments Spain had to contend with in the government of those islands, and has created a division of sentiment among us as to the wisdom of assuming responsibility for their

government. But it is historically correct to assert that the war was forced upon Spain by us, and that it might easily have been avoided with honor.

The Spanish War has demonstrated the evil effects of an aggressive war, entered upon without proper deliberation, under the whip and spur of undue public excitement. If before that war was declared Spain had offered to transfer to us the island of Porto Rico for one-fourth or one-fifth of the cost of that war, we would not have accepted the offer. We would have said that the island was of little or no strategic importance, and would be an element of weakness rather than strength to our continental territory; that the people were without experience in government, without sympathy with our institutions, of different race, language and religion, very ignorant and of a low grade of morality, a people whom it would require generations of time to assimilate with us; that, so far from shedding one drop of American blood for their acquisition, we would find the island a constant expense and incubus, and we should have declined even its free gift. Much less would we have accepted the Philippines on the other side of the globe, if offered us before the war, for one-half of the hundreds of millions which it cost us, with a population even more objectionable than that of Porto Rico, largely pagan and Mohammedan, a territory which would be an element of weakness in time of war and a heavy expense in peace.

So, too, it might have cooled the warlike ardor of many an American taxpayer to have been told that the war upon which we were about to enter would end in the permanent enlargement of our military establishment, that our navy would seek rivalry with the greatest nations of Europe, and that our annual expenses for military purposes would amount to seventy-two per cent. of the entire government expenditures. These considerations, with others of a like nature, if they had been properly and calmly examined by the people of the United States, might have led our Congress to delay, if not forego, the acts which inaugurated the hostilities against Spain. We never can tell to what extremities a foreign war may lead us.

The examination of the detailed facts attending the origin of our foreign wars shows that in every case the initial step attending hostilities was taken by us, that they were not inevitable, and that they all might have been avoided with honor. And the same may be said of almost all wars of modern times, especially those between civilized and Christian nations.

Secretary Elihu Root has well stated the situation in his address at the laying of the corner-stone of the building for the Bureau of the American Republics, when he said: "There are no international controversies so serious that they cannot be settled peaceably if both parties really desire peaceable settlement; while there are few causes of dispute so trifling that they cannot be made the occasion of war if either party really desires war. The matters in dispute between nations are nothing; the spirit which deals with them is everything."

The truth of Mr. Root's assertion has been well illustrated in our relations with Great Britain, and the history of these relations shows how easy it is for nations to avoid war if they desire to do so. If we review the relations of the two countries since our independence, we shall find that almost every possible question of controversy of an international character has arisen between them, some of them of the most irritating and threatening character, and yet in only one instance did they fail of a peaceful and honorable settlement. It may be profitable to note some of these events.

Soon after our treaty of peace and independence in 1783 serious trouble arose respecting the execution of its stipulations, and the angry controversy threatened to again open hostilities. But President Washington adopted the extraordinary course of sending our Chief Justice, John Jay, to London as a special plenipotentiary. A treaty was signed, but so strongly was it opposed at home that it was approved by the Senate by a bare constitutional majority. By its terms matters which could not otherwise be adjusted were referred to arbitration commissioners.

I have already discussed the facts attending the War of 1812, and shown that in this single instance in which we have resorted to war with Great Britain it was brought on by our own precipitate action, and might have been avoided with honor.

In 1817, when General Jackson invaded Florida, and seized and hung two British subjects, the state of public feeling in England was so intense that the Minister for Foreign Affairs stated that war might have been declared "if the Ministry had but held up a finger." But our government had the manliness to disavow the act and the war cloud passed.

The contention respecting the northeastern boundary between Maine and Canada was for many years the subject of angry controversy. At one time the armed forces of the two

adjoining sections were so near to opening hostilities that it was necessary to dispatch General Scott to the scene backed by the authority of the federal government to quell the excitement and prevent open war. In time a peaceful settlement was found by the special British plenipotentiary sent to Washington and Secretary Webster.

Not long afterwards a similar controversy arose over the northwest boundary. A President was elected upon a platform demanding our extreme territorial pretension, with the campaign cry of "fifty-four forty or fight." But after the excitement of the campaign was passed, the Secretary of State and the British Minister, in the calm domain of diplomacy, sought and found a middle course which brought peace with honor.

We all remember the "Trent" affair during our Civil War, when, with the angry passions of that fratricidal strife at their height, our Congress and people went wild with commendation of the illegal act of our heroic naval commander, and the British army and navy were promptly put in battle array to resent the insult to their flag. But President Lincoln and Secretary Seward pursued the only honorable course, acknowledged the error, released the Confederate prisoners, and the danger was over.

The history of that critical period in the life of our nation contains a narrative of the trials through which we passed in our relations with Great Britain, when our representative, Charles Francis Adams, declared to the Ministry that the conduct of their government relative to the Confederate cruisers meant war, and gave the warning that after our domestic strife was over we should hold their government responsible for its unfriendly course in the hour of our distress. On the return of peace, when the "Alabama claims" were pressed and a settlement by arbitration was proposed, the answer of the Ministry then in power was that the matter involved the dignity of the British Crown and the honor of the British nation, and that these could not be made the subject of arbitration. But after the passions awakened by the war had subsided and a new ministry was called to power in Great Britain, the question of national honor disappeared and the matters in dispute were referred to arbitration. There is no more illustrious page in the annals of America or Great Britain than the record of the Geneva arbitration tribunal.

The settlement of the northwest boundary by the treaty of 1846, owing to want of geographical knowledge or accuracy of

language, was followed by a dispute as to San Juan Island, which was being colonized by both American and Canadian settlers. Angry controversy arose and armed strife was threatened, which was only allayed by again dispatching General Scott to the disputed territory. After various attempts at adjustment by diplomacy extending through a series of years, the question was submitted to the arbitration of the Emperor of Germany, who rendered a decision in favor of the United States.

Only a few years ago the Alaskan boundary was the subject of conflicting claims and angry debates in legislative halls and the public press. We felt that our claim was so strong and our occupation so long that arbitration of the question was out of place. After diplomacy had exhausted its resources, the question went finally to a joint commission, and by the award of the British judge the claim of the United States was sustained.

From the very foundation of our government the Northeast Fisheries have been a subject of irritation and dispute. It was one of the troublesome questions to adjust in the negotiations resulting in the treaty of peace and independence of 1783. Time and again vain efforts have been made to settle it by treaty stipulations. Almost all of our great statesmen and diplomats during the past century and a quarter have participated in the attempts at settlement. Many of our vessels have been seized, and their officers and crews imprisoned and other summary treatment inflicted on them by the authorities of Canada and Newfoundland; and great indignation has been manifested in our country thereat. Finally this question, hoary with diplomatic age and parliamentary debate, has been referred to the arbitration of a Hague tribunal, and before the present year closes it is hoped that this spectre of danger to the peace of the two nations will be forever laid at rest.

Every one of these questions of difference just mentioned possessed sufficient elements of honor, vital interests or national concern to warrant their being *casus belli* if either of the parties thereto, as Mr. Root expressed it, had really desired war. And doubtless if we had sought settlement of any one of them by military force tens of thousands of patriots would have rushed to our standard to defend the interests of the country by slaughtering their kinsmen, and our legislators would have cheerfully voted appropriations of hundreds of millions of dollars to defend an interest not worth probably a tithe of the cost. What better illustration can we have of the wisdom of the policy

of the peaceful settlement of international questions of difference pursued by the United States and Great Britain during the last hundred years? And if this policy may be so successfully followed by two proud nations which have so many intricate and irritating questions to settle, why may it not be followed with profit by and with other nations of the world?

These two governments have likewise furnished an illustrious example of successful naval disarmament. The close of the War of 1812 found a large naval armament of both nations on the Great Lakes. It was agreed that all of these should be removed, and that thereafter each government would limit itself to maintaining one vessel on each of the lower lakes and two on the upper lakes, the vessels not to exceed one hundred tons and to carry only one eighteen-pound cannon; and that thenceforth no vessels of war should be built on these lakes. Since the date of that agreement their shores have become the home of a vast population and their waters of an immense commerce, but there has been no need of a great navy to preserve the peace or protect that commerce.

Within the past few weeks we have had another illustration of the advantages of peaceful negotiations over threats of hostile conduct. Under the existing tariff act the President of the United States is empowered to impose by proclamation a heavy retaliation duty on the products of any country which discriminated unfairly against our commerce. It would have been easy for our President, under a strict interpretation of the law and of Canadian treaties, to have applied to our northern neighbors our maximum tariff, which would have inaugurated a commercial war of gigantic proportions very hurtful to the interests of both countries. But happily President Taft is a man of peace, and he invited the Canadian authorities to a conference which resulted in a harmonious arrangement satisfactory to both governments, and the vast commerce across the frontier continues undisturbed.

The review which I have made has shown that all the foreign wars in which we have engaged were brought on by our own precipitate action, that they were not inevitable, and that they might have been avoided by the exercise of prudence and conciliation. It also shows that it has been possible for us to live in peace with our nearest neighbor, with which we have the most extensive and intimate relations, the most perplexing and troublesome questions. Our history also shows that during our whole life as an independent nation no country has shown

towards us a spirit of aggression or a disposition to invade our territory. If such is the case, is it not time that every true patriot, every lover of his country and of its fair fame in the world, every friend of humanity, should strive to curb the spirit of aggression and military glory among our people and seek to create an earnest sentiment against all war?

THE TEACHERS' MEETING.

The principal speaker at the teachers' meeting was Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, who was presented by Superintendent of Schools Weaver of Hartford, the chairman. Mrs. Andrews spoke on the "Teacher and Internationalism." She gave an able and instructive review of the Hague Conferences, and closed with an account of the work and aims of the American School Peace League, both of which she related in a practical way to the mission of the teachers in unfolding to their pupils the principles of the new internationalism. For an outline sketch of the league, see her address at Tuesday morning session.

BANQUET AT THE ALLYN HOUSE, HARTFORD.

The spirit of the Congress had its fullest literary expression at the closing banquet at the Allyn House in the evening. Everything said there lifted to a high ethical plane a congenial company of delegates, of citizens of Hartford and New Britain, who got together for a farewell review of their interesting week in the study of the peace movement.

Dwight Hewes, President of the Hartford Business Men's Association, an institution that heartily supported the Congress, introduced Dean Henry Wade Rogers as toastmaster. Dean Rogers briefly referred to the important public events connected with the Congress, the opening session in the State Capitol, with the cordial welcome of the officials, and the Burritt celebration with its wonderful procession. Never before, he said, had a community paused to pay its tribute at the grave of a man whose only distinction was that he had seen the coming of the time when war should be no more, and had striven as best he could to hasten the coming of the day.

Senator George B. Chandler, in a speech full of optimism, surveyed the onward progress of the world's history from the earliest times, comparing the political domination of imperial Rome with the ethical domination of the imperial Christian civilization which has followed it, and calling the United States to a high sense of its duty in relation to races and nations that needed its sympathy and help.

Hon. Herbert Knox Smith, head of the Bureau of Corporations at Washington, spoke on "The Currents of Commerce," emphasizing the fact that this is a commercial age, that its disputes, relating chiefly to tariffs, boundaries, international debts, railway, mining and fishing concessions, are commercial and call for settlement by commercial tribunals rather than by physical force. World peace, however, depends as much upon the ethical ideals of the nations as upon their legal machinery. The United States is in a position of leadership by which it can direct the economic forces of the world for good or oppression, according as its ideals decree.

Burges Johnson of New York read the following poem to

illustrate the murderous and remorseful spirit of war. Its merit was at once recognized.

THE YANKEE VETERAN.

BURGES JOHNSON.

Believe in war? Ye ask a question, son,
  Thet starts a turmoil underneath my hat.
Jest fifty years ago I fit in one,
  And these old scars make me believe in that.

And yit sometimes I waken aout of dreams
  Of camps and marches and the musket's crack,
And all the truth of thet old war-time seems
  No realler than th' dreams thet take me back.

Most allers I kin see some trampled field,
  Er plundered barn, er homestead's flame and smoke,
Er weak old men thet whimper as they yield,
  Er sullen, silent grief of women folk.

I see a lad come runnin' toward a wall
  Whar I lie hid, — a boy my age an' size:
It seems 'sif I kin see the speedin' ball
  Thet bores a hole between his eager eyes.

Thet war was War — it was my job t' shoot
  An' burn an' crush, an' lurk behind a wall;
Then sleep untroubled, nights, ez enny brute, —
  But thet lad's face somehaow survives it all.

We both looked duty squaarly in th' face:
  We both was men, thet's haow we both was thar.
He might hev got more useful in his place
  Than ever I hev growed, from y'ar to y'ar.

His folks an' mine wa'n't diff'runt in their hearts, —
  Same hopes, same prayers, same old unselfish pride
T' hev their boys play all the biggest parts:
  Then one lad shot th' other 'tween th' eyes.

A land must hev its sections, North and Saouth,
  And East and West, so be its size is great;
Though other words is often in th' maouth
  Of pleasant fellers thet I 've heerd orate.

And local loyalty 's a nat'ral right, —
  And section rivalry, it 'pears to me,
Jest helps t' make us hustle in th' fight
  Thet clean men wage in enny place they be.

But hatred? Kin I ever hate again
  Th' Johnny Rebs who fit beside thet lad,
And stood th' test t' prove thet they was men, —
  Strong men worth lovin' fer th' sand they had?

Sech men don't hev no hatred fer their kind.
When States sent all their likeliest manhood forth,
A weaker sort was left ter stay behind
And cling t' hatred between Saouth and North.

Believe in war? Perhaps th' time hez ben
When States was younger, and folks daoubted some
Thet enny kind of soil could raise up men
As good, all raound, as them we raise to hum·

But some of us hev larnt it — we kin look
Across th' lines thet baound aour leetle coast,
Thumbin' th' pages of some atlas-book,
And findin' fust th' dot we love th' most;

Then we kin rest a thumb on enny land,
Whether in pink er red er green aoutlined,
And say, "They 're raisin' men thar, near my hand,
Men of th' eager, honest, fightin' kind."

And we kin bet they need each man-sized chap
Right thar to hum, with all his fightin' paowers,
Ef so be their green section of th' map
Is like this light pink section we call aours.

But then comes War. And all those lads thet rate
As stalwart men go forth t' kill their kind,
Leavin' a greater struggle in th' State
Ter be fought aout by weaklin's left behind.

* * * * * * *

I miss thet lad — th' one I never knew.
I sorter wish we 'd hed a fairer fight
In diff'runt style, t' prove aour pints of view, —
Queer fancies! — but God knows I wish we might!

Rev. Walter Walsh responded to the toast "King George the Fifth." In the course of his remarks he expressed satisfaction in the progress the peace cause has made in this country as shown by holding great peace congresses and by enlisting in it the interest of public men.

Both Mr. Walsh and the following speaker, Rev. Dr. Philip S. Moxom, discussed the status of the soldier in the life of to-day. "Why is he a soldier?" asked Dr. Moxom, considering the question from a broad philosophical standpoint. "Because the people and the powers make him a soldier. It is an injury to the peace cause to fling epithets at the soldier. The armies of Europe to-day are made up of men who, if they had their choice, would be in the ranks of industry showing their manhood and courage and grappling with the problems of

social and domestic and civil life rather than in the army." He believed that the presence of armies in this age is due to a general demand for virile men, but that the time had come when by process of education moral forces could be made to prevail over the forces of the brute.

Professor Masujiro Honda, a Japanese who is connected with the Oriental Information Bureau in New York City, spoke on problems in American-Japanese diplomatic relations, and suggested that advocates of international arbitration propose practical schemes for the legal settlement of international disputes relating to questions of race and labor. He referred to the danger to international relations that may be caused by reckless and untrue statements in the press, and believed that there should be a law regulating international slander and misrepresentation.

A telegram was read from Hon. Richard Bartholdt congratulating the Congress upon its success and expressing his opinion that the peace cause represents the greatest moral issue of the century.

Mr. Mead spoke of the moral influence of the United States as a world power, illustrating his point by calling attention to what the United States has done for the development of Japan. Referring to the Burritt celebration, with its touching spectacle of the nationalities in procession, he dwelt upon the growth of the Cosmopolitan Clubs in American colleges and on the cosmopolitan character of the people of the United States, which is no longer made up largely of English blood, but has its millions of German, Irish and Jewish extraction.

Dr. Trueblood spoke of the good work that Professor Honda has done in interpreting the United States and Japan to each other and in helping to preserve peaceful relations between them. He also gave a sketch of the peace movement in Japan. Speaking of the Burritt celebration, he expressed the opinion that its influence would extend not only through this country, but would go abroad, and that we should have peace pageants in which the world should see "a great parade without the everlasting rattle of arms and clash of sabres and the rush of armed men on foot and on horse." He thought that the Congress had come up to the best standard of public speaking of the peace movement, and that it would do a great deal for the advancement of the cause that the friends of peace had at heart.

The Congress closed leaving behind it a sense of fellowship among the New England peace workers such as has never before been felt by them, and that promises well for organized and aggressive work in the future.

APPENDIX.

AN OUTLINE OF THE EARLY PEACE MOVEMENT IN CONNECTICUT.

MABEL W. S. CALL.

Early in the nineteenth century a number of peace societies sprang up in America at about the same time.

Each seemed to grow spontaneously and to be unrelated to most of the others; yet careful search reveals the fact that the ground was prepared in much the same way for all.

The world was wearied with the long wars of the previous century, and idealists, scattered about Christendom, began to question the need of war between civilized nations.

Then came tracts, pamphlets and addresses by some of the more daring apostles of the new doctrine, and soon little societies of like-minded persons were formed, and the seed had begun to grow.

Public sentiment, however, was not altogether ready to see the reasonableness of the dreams. It is related that early in the century the Rev. Dr. Strong of Hartford cautiously affirmed in his study that he was "opposed to all war." He could not preach the doctrine boldly then, because his people refused to listen.* When Noah Worcester, in 1814, wrote his "Solemn Review of the Custom of War," no publisher could be found daring enough to print it. Finally, one risked doing so on condition that it should go out anonymously. This tract, however, met with instant and wide circulation. It was reprinted many times in many places, and became the cause of the founding of many peace societies.

By the year 1828 there were peace societies in London, in France, in Ireland, Nova Scotia, Canada, and probably over fifty in the United States.

In the year 1828 Mr. William Ladd of Maine, an enthusiastic apostle of peace, delivered two addresses in Hartford, Conn. The first, on January 10, in the Central Conference Room, is described in Mr. William Watson's diary as "a very eloquent address on the subject of universal peace." It was doubtless at this first meeting that Mr. Watson, afterward so indefatigable a worker, received his first inspiration to labor

*See "Progress of Peace," American Peace Society, Boston, 1844.

for international peace. On February 29 Mr. Ladd again addressed an audience in the North Conference Room. At this meeting, February 29, 1828, enthusiasm ran so high that it was voted to form a peace society in Hartford, and the meeting adjourned to Monday, March 10, when a constitution was reported and accepted. This first peace society in Connecticut was called the Hartford County Peace Society, auxiliary to the American Peace Society. It began its work with a membership of one hundred and two. The officers were Oliver D. Cooke, Esq., president; Mr. Henry Peet, vice-president; and Mr. Henry Grew, secretary and treasurer. The policy adopted from the outset seems to have been one of publicity and enlightenment. This was accomplished first and foremost by means of tracts. The "Solemn Review of the Custom of War" was obtained from Noah Worcester, founder of the Massachusetts Peace Society, reprinted and widely circulated time after time. An interesting collection of these reprints is still to be found in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society. One was reprinted by Peter B. Gleason & Co., 1815. Again it was published by Philemon Canfield in Hartford in 1829.

The other means of reaching the people was by the pulpit, both at regular services and at annual meetings addressed by ministers.

At the first annual meeting, March 18, 1829, the address was made by Joel H. Linsley at the Central Meeting House, and the sermon was afterward published and widely circulated. The man who above all others was responsible for the wide circulation of the pamphlets was William Watson, the general agent of the society. He made his store on Main Street the repository for all tracts and publications relative to the peace movement, and was indefatigable in his efforts in scattered communities about the State to arouse and sustain interest. He took long driving trips to remote spots, scattering pamphlets, making addresses, organizing societies, and doing all in his power to bring the cause to the notice of men and women remote from the large centers. He managed entirely the fiscal concerns of several societies in Connecticut.

In May, 1831, in the Conference Room of the Center Church, the Connecticut Peace Society was formed with sixty-four members. The first annual meeting was held in New Haven in the hope of forming a society "in that respectable and influential city." At that meeting it was reported that

nearly two thousand pamphlets had been circulated during the first year. The officers were: John Caldwell, president; Thomas H. Gallaudet, corresponding secretary; Henry Grew, assistant corresponding secretary, recording secretary and treasurer. The vice-presidents were: P. M. Sherman, Fairfield County; Thomas Hubbard, New Haven County; William P. Cleaveland, New London County; George Benson, Windham County; Elisha Stearns, Tolland County; Jonathan Brau, Hartford County; William Watson, agent. The following year, 1833, the second annual report claims eight county societies for the State.

The Constitution of the Society was published with this report, and the following extract may be of interest in showing the breadth of aim from the first:

"ARTICLE II. The object of this Society shall be the promotion of permanent and universal peace, by printing and circulating tracts to diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the true interests of mankind, and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace upon the basis of Christian principles. Its labors are not limited, but extend to the whole human family."

This second annual meeting of the Connecticut Peace Society must have been a noteworthy one, for in the *Connecticut Courant* for May 14 we find it described as a "crowded meeting" in the Center Church in Hartford, with an attendance of from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred people. The secretary, Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, read his report, and the Rev. Mr. Hickock of Litchfield delivered an address.

Meanwhile the Hartford County Peace Society still flourished, and in the same year, 1833, revised its constitution, making it auxiliary to the Connecticut Peace Society instead of to the American Peace Society directly, as before. The officers of the Hartford County Peace Society that year were: president, Dr. L. Bacon; vice-president, Lynde Olmsted; recording secretary and treasurer, William Watson; corresponding secretary, Dr. S. W. Brown.

In June, 1834, William Watson began on his own responsibility the publication of a quarterly magazine called the *American Advocate of Peace.* He secured as editor the first year the Rev. Caleb Sprague Henry, junior pastor of the West Church, and submitted the paper to the Connecticut Peace Society as its organ. The national society, observing this publication, found it executed with such zeal, taste and ability that at the completion of the first year it adopted the *Advocate*

as its own organ, merging in it the *Calumet*, once the *Harbinger of Peace.*

June 16, 1834, there appeared in the Connecticut Peace Society report a paragraph which expresses a very modern hope and point of view: "The subject of a supreme tribunal to which national disputes may be referred is still kept in view by the American Peace Society. One thousand dollars has been offered as a prize for the best essay on the subject."

Another important meeting was held on Christmas day, 1834, when an address was given by Rev. Laurens Hickock, and an original ode on "Peace" by Mrs. Sigourney was sung by Mr. Wade. This meeting was held at the Baptist church, and the sum of $84.10 was collected to extend the circulation of the *Advocate of Peace.*

The Connecticut Peace Society in its annual report of July 20, 1835, speaks of the closing year as one peculiarly momentous in its history, first, because of the beginning of the new magazine; second, because of the *Advocate's* adoption by the American Society. Over twelve thousand copies had been published and circulated, over two thousand tracts had been circulated, many special meetings and addresses had been given and the movement widely advertised by Mr. Watson in the weekly papers. That was the year, too, when Henry Barnard, 2d, was sent to London to represent Connecticut at a meeting of the "Society for the Promotion of Permanent and Universal Peace."

After the first year of the *Advocate of Peace*, Mr. Francis Fellowes became the editor in place of Mr. Henry. Mr. Fellowes took up his new duties at about the time the paper passed into the hands of the American Peace Society.

Since Mr. Watson, a Hartford man, published the *Quarterly*, and had rallied about him a large number of active and effective Hartford men, the American Society found it desirable to make its headquarters in Hartford and to entrust its concerns to an able set of executive officers on the spot. This probably explains why the executive committee of the American Peace Society for 1836 has so large a preponderance of Hartford names. There were Hon. William W. Ellsworth, Hartford; Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, Hartford; Melvin Copeland, Hartford; William Watson, Esq., Hartford; Rev. G. F. Davis, Philadelphia; Francis Fellowes, Hartford; David Watkinson, Hartford; William Ladd, Esq., Maine, general agent; Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, corresponding secretary; Francis Fellowes, recording secretary; William Watson, treasurer.

So for two years, from June, 1835, to June, 1837, there were flourishing in Hartford the headquarters of three peace societies, the Hartford County Peace Society, the Connecticut Peace Society and the American Peace Society. The two former held their meetings often at the homes of some of the members; for example, at Mr. O. D. Cooke's, Mr. John Caldwell's or Mr. Watson's. But once or twice a year, or oftener, large public meetings were held in the churches or "conference rooms." It would be interesting to see a list of the families represented at the meetings in those days. In the newspaper report of one meeting we find mention of Rev. Dr. Hawes, Hon. William W. Ellsworth, Rev. Henry Stanwood, Henry Barnard, Esq., Rev. Mr. Hickock of Litchfield and Rev. Mr. Fitch. At other meetings mention is made of A. Kingsley, D. St. John, B. Hastings, T. H. Gallaudet, H. Huntington, L. Olmsted, L. Bacon, Aaron Colton, D. Watkinson, Mr. Van Arsdalm, Mrs. Sigourney, Francis Fellowes and many others.

Late in the year 1836 Mr. Watson, the mainspring of the publication and publicity work of the three societies, died, and it seemed advisable to move the *Advocate*, and with it the American Peace Society's headquarters, to Boston, in order to continue the publication. After this date very few notices of meetings appear in the papers and no printed reports are to be found in the Hartford Historical Library. It seems improbable that, with so many earnest and enthusiastic men beside Mr. Watson engaged in the propagation of the peace principles, the two Hartford societies could have ceased at once upon his death. It is much more probable that at first the meetings and annual address were held, but without published minutes. Gradually, however, as abolition became the talk of the day, the doctrines of peace became more and more inopportune, and then evidently the formal meetings of the two societies in Hartford were dropped, however strongly individual members may have felt regarding the desirability of peace.

From an eloquent circular letter by Mr. Ladd in the first number of the *Harbinger of Peace*, May, 1828, one sees how able and advanced the leaders were in that early day. Mr. Ladd has been asked if the leaders of the movement expect international peace in their own day. "Perhaps not," he says, "still it is not impossible, if the present favorable crisis be seized, and no war should break out to blast our prospects before our principles come into general operation." The war did come and local peace societies in many parts of the country

sank out of sight ; but the national society maintained its identity throughout. Slowly local societies have again sprung into life. The second and present Connecticut Peace Society was organized in 1906.

In these latter days great things have been accomplished looking toward international peace, and again we recall a prophetic sentence from William Ladd — a sentence in the same article of 1828, quoted above : "At all events," he wrote, "it is our duty to sow the seed and to leave it to God to appoint the reapers."

NEW HAMPSHIRE IN THE PEACE MOVEMENT.

JAMES L. TRYON.

From the Manchester Mirror, April 16, 1910.

New Hampshire has always honored the peace cause. When the first board of directors of the American Peace Society was elected in 1828, at the time of the organization of that Society, three of its members were New Hampshire men. These were the Hon. John T. Gilman of Exeter, a distinguished ex-governor of the State, the Hon. James Sheafe and the Hon. Nathaniel A. Haven of Portsmouth. A little later the names of the Rev. Israel W. Putnam and Benjamin Abbott, LL. D., appeared on the list of directors.

One of the first life members of the American Peace Society was the Rev. Nathaniel Parker, D. D., of Portsmouth. An early record in the *Harbinger of Peace*, the organ of the Society, is authority for the statement that the ladies of the church of the Rev. Mr. Putnam of Portsmouth contributed $30 to constitute him a life member. Those were days when it was customary for churches, in their enthusiasm for the peace cause, to connect themselves with the society through the membership of their pastor.

Peace societies were formed in Portsmouth, Concord and Hanover. The board report of the American Peace Society contains this entry about the interest in the peace cause in Hanover. It says: "The Peace Society of Concord promises to be efficient, but to the Peace Society of Dartmouth College and vicinity we look with peculiar interest. The president and all the officers of that ancient and celebrated college are officers or members of the Peace Society, and most of the students are members, and appear to take a deep interest in the good and great cause." As early as 1831 the faculty of Dartmouth College was offered a sum of money to be put on interest for the purpose of creating a prize for essays on peace and war.

Samuel E. Coues of Portsmouth was president of the American Peace Society from 1841 to 1846, and since the organization of the Society the sons and daughters of New Hampshire have always been ready to support its work. To-day among the representatives who are connected with the Society are

Prof. Harlan P. Amen, Prof. James F. Colby and ex-President William J. Tucker of Dartmouth; ex-Governor N. J. Bachelder, master of the National Grange, and L. H. Pillsbury of Derry are both members, Mr. Pillsbury being a vice-president. Edwin D. Mead, also a vice-president and the director of the International School of Peace, which has just been founded by Mr. Ginn in Boston, and Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead, a director of the American Peace Society, author of "A Primer of the Peace Movement" and "Patriotism and the New Internationalism," are both natives of New Hampshire.

The secretary of the New York Peace Society, Prof. Samuel T. Dutton, was originally a New Hampshire man. New Hampshire sent five delegates to the New York National Peace Congress in 1907. These were Governor Bachelder, the Rev. Thomas Chalmers, D. D., of Manchester, Herbert D. Foster and Professor Colby of Hanover and Charles Osborne of North Weare. Governor Bachelder took part in the memorable meeting held by business men at the Hotel Astor.

It would be impossible to write a history of the peace movement without paying the highest tribute to the State of New Hampshire. It was at Exeter, May 10, 1778, that William Ladd was born, who founded the American Peace Society that for nearly a century has been foremost among all the peace agencies of the world in promoting the cause of arbitration. Mr. Ladd was educated at the academy at Exeter and at Harvard college, from which, at the age of nineteen, he graduated in the class of 1797. "He attained, on the green side of twenty," said his colleague, Dr. Beckwith, "such a reputation for scholarship as entitled him at the close of his collegiate course to an honorable appointment in a class which produced some of our most distinguished men."

Mr. Ladd was intended by his parents for the medical profession, but went to sea as a common sailor in a vessel owned by his father, who was at that time a citizen of Portsmouth. He visited London and other parts of Europe. The next voyage he was mate of the ship, and by the time he had been in service eighteen months, at the age of twenty years, took command of one of the largest ships that ever sailed out of Portsmouth.

After following the sea for a few years, Mr. Ladd went to live at Minot, Me., on an estate that belonged to his father. Here he became interested in agriculture, in literary pursuits, and in the religious life of the Congregational church. Somebody said of him that "he seemed to wish to make everything

better than he found it — not only in the moral but in the material world." Mr. Ladd made the acquaintance of the Rev. Jesse Appleton, president of Bowdoin College, and saw him in his last hours. Dr. Appleton, speaking of the signs of progress in the world, gave a prominent place to peace societies. This was almost the first time that Mr. Ladd had ever heard of them. At first he treated them as mere day-dreams of the times, and the incident might have passed without significance had not he come upon the famous peace sermon of Dr. Worcester, "The Solemn Review," which, he says, "riveted my attention in such a manner as to make it the principal object of my life to promote the cause of peace on earth and goodwill toward men."

At this time, 1819, Mr. Ladd was forty-one years of age. He spent most of the next nine years in writing essays on peace and war and in an agitation for a great national peace society that should draw to itself as auxiliaries all the other peace societies of this country, of which there were many. This association, the American Peace Society, was organized in New York City, May 8, 1828. Mr. Ladd was on its first board of directors, became its agent and secretary, and later its president. He was the editor of the *Harbinger of Peace* and the *Calumet*, the first important peace papers published in this country. He made addresses throughout the Eastern States before peace societies and churches. In 1837 he was licensed to preach, and frequently spoke to congregations. His presentation of the peace cause was strong on the moral and purely Christian side.

He wrote many letters on peace and arbitration to persons of distinction in Europe. But the great work for which he is recognized by students of the peace movement was an essay written by him in 1840 on a court and congress of nations. In this essay Mr. Ladd anticipated the work, organization and procedure of the two Hague Conferences. Anybody who studies his program for a world congress will be surprised to see how nearly it resembles the actual proceedings of the second Hague Conference.

Speaking of his remarkably prophetic work, Mr. Ladd said: "My claim to originality in this production rests much on the thought of separating the subject into two distinct parts, namely: first, a congress of ambassadors from all those Christian and civilized nations who should choose to send them, for the purpose of settling the principles of international law by compact and agreement, of the nature of a mutual treaty,

and also of devising and promoting plans for the preservation of peace, and meliorating the condition of man; second, a court of nations, composed of the most able civilians in the world, to arbitrate or judge such cases as should be brought before it, by the mutual consent of two or more contending nations, thus dividing entirely the diplomatic from the judicial functions. I consider the congress as the legislature and the court as the judiciary in the government of nations, leaving the functions of the executive with public opinion, 'the queen of the world.' This division I have never seen in any essay or plan for a congress of nations, either ancient or modern; and I believe it will obviate all the objections which have been heretofore made to such a plan."

Mr. Ladd spent much of his fortune on the peace cause, and at his death, on April 9, 1841, in Portsmouth, bequeathed several thousand dollars to be spent immediately on the cause of peace. He was buried at Portsmouth, where a monument was erected to his memory by the American Peace Society. The monument bears the inscription, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." This inscription is prophetic when considered in connection with the peace of Portsmouth, a peace that will have a lasting place in the annals of civilization and will always reflect honor on the State of New Hampshire, that welcomed the peace commissioners when they entered upon their beneficent task. This settlement stands for the success of mediation, which is one of the means for the promotion of peace established by the Hague Conferences, the product of a world sentiment shaped by the constructive genius of Mr. Ladd.

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